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FRESH LIGHT ON THE POST-AŚOKAN HISTORY OF KAUŚĀMBĪ

K. D. BAJPAI

Kauśāmbī (now Kosam in the Allahabad district), the capital of the Vatsa kingdom, finds numerous references in ancient Indian literature. Its name occurs in several historical inscriptions, sealings and coins found at Kosam and in the region around. A large number of sculptural and architectural remains, terracotta figurines and other relics eloquently speak of Kauśāmbī as a great centre of art in northern India, particularly during the period between the third century B. C. and the sixth century A. D. Prior to this period, during the days of the Buddha, Udayana was the ruler of Vatsa, who married Vāsavadattā, the beautiful daughter of king Pradyota of Ujjayinī. In the Maurya period, Kauśāmbī again came to prominence. Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor, had a liking for Kauśāmbī. This flourishing town was situated on the main trade-route joining Pāṭaliputra and Śrāvastī in the north with Vidiśā and Ujjayinī in the south. Aśoka erected an inscribed pillar at Kauśāmbī (which is *in situ*). The capital and other remains of an Aśokan pillar are reported to have recently been unearthed.

After Aśoka's death the Maurya empire was disintegrated. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who killed the last Maurya ruler Bṛihadratha, succeeded in occupying a considerable portion of the Maurya empire in the north. Sooner or later, Pushyamitra seems to have shifted his capital from Pāṭaliputra to Kauśāmbī.[1] Kauśāmbī since then came to occupy an important political position, which continued till the rise of the Guptas.

After the death of Pushyamitra or during his last days the Śuṅga empire seems to have been divided (among his sons) into several independent kingdoms. These kingdoms were: (1) Pāṭaliputra or Magadha, (2) Kauśāmbī or Vatsa (including sometime major parts of south-western Magadha and parts of the southern Āṭavika territory), (3) Vidiśā or Daśārṇa, (4) Ayodhyā or north Kosala, (5) Ahichchhatrā or north Pañchāla, and (6) Mathurā or Śūrasena. These kingdoms were related among themselves, as is borne out by inscriptional evidence, particularly in the cases of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañchāla.

1. No epigraphic or other records of Pushyamitra or his immediate successors are known from Pāṭaliputra or thereabout. They are, however, known from the region between Ayodhyā and Bharhut.

Pushyamitra's eldest son Agnimitra is known to have made Vidiśā as his head-quarter[1]. From there he could look after not only Daśārṇa and western Malwa, but also the southern region upto Vidarbha. Agnimitra's son Vasumitra is credited with having defeated the Yavanas (Greeks) on the bank of the Sindhu (tributary of the Chambal river). But it appears that soon after, the Scythians started their inroads on Malwa from the Saurāshṭra side. These foreigners could not be checked and eventually they succeeded in occupying a part of the western Malwa during the reign of the later Śuṅgas.[2] Agnimitra and his successors could rule over Vidiśā for a period of about 76 years. The last ruler Devabhūti was killed by Kāṇva[3] Vasudeva. The latter and his three successors held parts of the Vidiśā region for a period of only 45 years according to the Purāṇas. The Kāṇvas were succeeded by the Sātavāhanas in the eastern Malwa.

The cases of other territories in the north were somewhat different. In so for as Magadha is concerned, we have so far been able to get the names of only a few kings[4] with Mitra-ending names, assignable to the period between 1st cent. B. C. and 2nd cent. A.D. It seems that there was no Mitra dynasty as such in Magadha which could have continued its rule for a considerable time. I think that major parts of Magadha were under the rulers of Kauśāmbī,[5] whose coins and inscriptions are known from various parts of Bihar also. My contention is that Bahasatimitra of Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription is no other than the Brihaspatimitra[6] of the Kauśāmbī coins, (known in quite large number). This Bahasatimitra is called '*Magadha*-

1. Vidiśā having been made the headquarter of the main Śuṅga line, it was probably in the fitness of things that Antialkides, the Greek ruler of Taxila, sent his ambassador Heliodorus to Vidiśā and not to any other capitals, such as Ahichchhatrā, Mathura or Kauśāmbī Besides Agnimitra and Vasumitra, the other rulers of the Vidiśā house bearing Mitra-ending names are Vajramitra, Revatimitra and Veṇimitra. The last two are known from the Bharhut inscriptions.
2. Recently some coins, bearing apparently Scythian names and assignable to the later half of the 2nd cent. B.C. and early 1st cent. B.C., have been acquired from Ujjain. This and the literary references, such as those of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, tend to prove the occupation of the Ujjayinī region by the Śakas before 57 B.C.
3. Copper coins from Kauśāmbī bearing the legend '*Kaṇvasya*' may be assigned to the Kāṇva dynasty.
4. E.g., King Visanghamitra known from the Kailvan (dist. Patna) stone inscription dated the year 108 (186 A. D.), *Indian Archaeology–A Review*, 1955-6, p. 29, pl. XLIV, B. The Bodhgaya railing inscriptions gives us the names of kings Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra. But these were not the rulers of Magadha (see my pāper in. *JNSI*, XXVI, I)
5. See my paper 'Agnimitra of the Vaiśālī sealing', *JUPHS* (N. S.), IX, pt. 2, pp. 87-9.
6. Brihaspatimitra of the Morā (Mathurā) brick inscription also seems to be the same ruler of Kauśāmbī.

rāja' in Khāravela's inscription, alluding thereby to the wide influence of the Kauśāmbī dynasty including Magadha. It should be borne in mind that Magadha of the period under review has not given any typical regional coinage as is the case with Pañchāla, Mathurā or Kauśāmbī.

The reigning period of each of the three dynasties of Ayodhyā, Ahichchhatrā and Mathurā seems to have spread over several hundred years. Majority of the rulers of these families bore Mitra-ending names as is clear from their coins and inscriptions.[1]

The case of Kauśāmbī is, however, different. Here we get almost a continuous chain of rulers from about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. (or earlier) upto the conquest and occupation of the region by Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th cent. A. D.[2] The main points pertaining to the political history of Kauśāmbī during this long period are briefly given below.

The first probable ruler occupying the throne of Kauśāmbī about the middle of the second cent. B. C. was Śuṅgavarmā. One of his copper coins, bearing the legend '*Sugavamasa*' in the Aśokan Brāhmī script and the figure of a horse standing before *yūpa* with some other symbols, has recently been brought to light by the author.[3] The coin is in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad, who acquired it from Kauśāmbī.[4] The epithet '*Śuṅga*' in his name, no doubt, shows his affiliation with the Śuṅga house of Pushyamitra. No less significant is the horse standing before a *yūpa* on this coin, especially when we recollect that Pushyamitra Śuṅga is credited with having performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. All the same, at the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to equate Śuṅgavarmā with Puṣyamitra or any other known ruler of the latter's family.

Other early rulers of the Kauśāmbī house known to us are Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti. These names, along with a few others of the family, occur in the Bharhut inscriptions referring to the gifts made by king Dhanabhūti. According to the

1. See Allan, *BMC, Ancient India*, pp. 135-39 ; 169-75 ; 192-204 and respective Plates.
2. Although the number of the Pañchāla kings known to us now is quite large (see my paper in *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 9-19 ; pl. I), the same cannot be said of Pañchāla.
3. 'Coin of king Śuṅgavarma from Kauśāmbī' (*Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Patna, no. 5).
4. A coin of king Vishṇudeva bearing similar features has been assigned by Allan (*BMC, Anc. Ind.* p. 147, pl XIX. 13) to the house of Kanauj(?). In fact this latter king also belongs to the Kauśāmbī house. I have shown ((*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5-6) that there was no independent Mitra dynasty at Kanauj.

inscription No. I, incised on the pillar of the eastern gateway of Bharhut, "the gateway was caused to be made by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputra Agaraja (Aṅgarāja) and grandson of king Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, within the dominion of the Śuṅgas".[1]

I take that Viśvadeva, Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti belonged to the Śuṅga house of Kauśāmbī. They were probably the descendants of king Śuṅgavarmā referred to above. The ruling house of Kauśāmbī lent its patronage to the stupa at Bharhut which was located in their territory.

Cunningham had announced the discovery of two coins of king Agarāja, the father of Dhanabhūti. Recently more coins of this king from Kauśāmbī bearing the name *Agarajusa* (exactly as on the Bharhut inscription) have been brought to light.[2] They are of various sizes and weights, showing the important position of the ruler.[3]

I identify Agaraju of the Bharhut inscriptions with Agaraju of the coins. The paleography goes in support of this theory. This king may have ruled over Kauśāmbī about 125 B. C.

We now come to king Dhanabhūti, the son of Aṅgarāja. From the Bharhut inscriptions Nos. 1,2 and 103[4] and the Mathurā pillar inscription of Dhanabhūti (II).[5] We can form a a geneology as under :

Gargī
|
Viśvadeva = Gauptī
|
Agaraju = Vātsī
|
Dhanabhūti = Nāgarakshitā (?)
|
Vadhapāla
|
Dhanabhūti (II) of Mathura.

1. Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1-2. ; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 16 17, pl. LIII.
2. Cunningham, Ibid, p. 17 ; *JNSI*, IV, pp. 137-8 ; XXII, pp. 131-33, pl. VI, 21. The reading *Agarajusa* is quite clear on some coins in the author's possession and in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad.
3. The name Aṅgarāja (I prefer it to Agrarāja ; cf. Vaṅgapāla of Pañchāla) itself possibly implies his sovereignty over the Aṅga kingdom. The contemporary Aṅga is not known to have any *Janapada* coinage of its own.
4. Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions* (pp. 1-3, 30-31).
5. Cunningham, *Op. cit.* pp. 16, 130, pl. LIII.

I am unable to accept the dates assigned to the above by Cunningham.[1] To me it seems that Dhanabhūti I flourished a little before 100 B. C., when the eastern gateway at Bharhut was erected.[2]

Fortunately for us, a clay seal of Dhanabhūti has recently been obtained from Kauśāmbī by Sri Janeshwardas, who has kindly permitted me to publish it. The seal with a decorated and holed knob is 4.4 cm. high and the diameter of its circular bottom is 4.00 cm. The bottom bears a *Swastika* and another symbol (which seems to be a combination of *Indradhwaja* and taurines). The Brāhmī legend written almost in the centre is *Dhanabhūtisa.*[3]

On a close comparision of the characters on this seal with those occurring on the Bharhut inscriptions of Dhanabhūti (Nos. 1. and 103) cited above, I noticed a remarkable similarity. I have, therefore, no doubt that this seal from Kauśāmbī can be attributed to king Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions, whom I take to be the ruler of Kauśāmbī.

The other post-Aśokan rulers of Kauśāmbī with non-Mitra-ending names are Vavaghosa, Aśvaghosa, Jyeshṭhagupta, Parvata, Indradeva, Vishṇudeva, and Dhanadeva, etc. Their period ranges between 1st cent. B. C. and 2nd cent. A.D.

Regarding the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī, Allan mentioned only four kings in his *Catalogue*[4] Prof. A. S. Altekar brought to light the names of eight more Mitra (and several non-Mitra) rulers of Kauśāmbī.[5] In my list of the Kauśāmbī Mitra kings there are now 25 rulers.[6] Some of these are known to us from inscriptions also.[7] These Mitra kings ruled over the Vatsa kingdom from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A. D., though not necessarily in actual succession to each other, as all of the Kauśāmbī rulers falling under the period did not bear Mitra-ending names.

1. *Op. cit*, p. 16. 130.
2. Cf. Barua *Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference* (Allahabad, 1928), pp. 681-92.
3. This interesting seal of Dhanabhūti will shortly be published by the author.
4. *Op. cit*, Intro. pp. XCVI-XCVIII; pp. 150-54. Allan has wrongly attributed (*Op. cit*, p. 172; pl. XXV. 8-11) the coins of Gomitra of Kauśāmbī to Gomitra II of Mathurā.
5. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 1-16; 133-145 and plates.
6. Of these coins, those of Iśvaramitra, Rāmamitra, and Priyamitra have already been published by me (*JNSI*, XV, p. 44-5, pl. II, 5-6; XXII, p. 131, pl. VI, 18-19.). The coins of the rest will be published soon.
7. E.g., Bṛihaspatimitra, Varuṇamitra, Śivamitra, Poṭhamitra and Devamitra.

The Mitras seem to have been succeeded by the Maghas. The first Magha ruler Bhīmasena extended his authority from Kauśāmbī to Bandhogarh (in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh). Nine Magha rulers are mentioned in the Purāṇas, but their number as now known from coins and inscriptions is more than nine.[1]

The Mitras and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī were independent rulers and they did not bear allegience to any foreign power. The theory advanced by certain scholars that the Kauśāmbī region for a considerable time remained under the supremacy of the Kushāṇas, has been refuted by the author.[2]

Kauśāmbī continued to maintain her independent status right upto about the middle of the 4th century A. D., when it was conquered and annexed by Samudragupta to his empire. The contemporary ruler of Vatsa defeated by the Gupta monarch was probably Rudradeva, who is known to us from some copper coins[3] and a clay seal from Jhūsī near Allahabad.

1. For a detailed study of the Maghas and the related kings see my paper 'The Maghas of Kauśāmbī and South Kosala and the Allied problems' published in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, III, pt. I (1962), pp. 11-21.
2. Ibid.
3. See *JNSI.*, XI, p. 13-14, pl. III, 6. The name on the coin is *Śrīrudra.* Subsequently a few more coins of this ruler have been found at Kauśāmbī.

THE AGNIMITRA PROBLEM

K. D. BAJPAI

[Plate VII]

Several kings bearing the name Agnimitra are known to us in ancient Indian history. They are assignable to a period between the second century B. C. and the first century A. D. The following rulers bear this name :

1. The second Śuṅga ruler, son of Senāpati Pushyamitra.
2. A ruler of the Pañchāla dynasty, known from coins.[1]
3. A ruler of Kauśāmbī, known from coins and a brick inscription in the Allahabad Museum.[2]
4. Agnimitra of the Vaiśālī sealing.[3]
5. Indragnimitra known from Bodhgayā railing inscriptions.

It is proposed to discuss here the possibility of identification of these rulers.[4]

In so far as Agnimitra, the son and successor of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, is concerned we have some interesting literary data regarding him indicating that he was a ruler of the Vidiśā region. But the epigraphic or numismatic evidences are silent about him. The coins known from Pañchāla or Kauśāmbī bearing the name Agnimitra cannot be attributed to him with any degree of certainty.[5]

The Pañchāla king Agnimitra is known to us from his numerous coins, usually found in Ahichhatrā and the region around. These coins can be classified under the following types.[6]

1. Allan, *BMC, AI,* pp. CXVII, 199-201, pl. XXVIII, 8-14 ; XLVI, 15-16.
2. Ibid, pp. XCVI, 153, pl. XX, 5 ; XXVIII, 15 ; *JUPHS*, IX, (1961), pp. 87-89.
3. S. R. Roy, *JBRS*, 1959, pp. 313-17 ; K. D. Bajpai, *JUPHS*, IX (1961), pp. 87-89.
4. B. M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagayā* (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 67-69 ; 119-21.
5. The coin bearing the name Śuṅgavarmā, recently identified by the author in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad, cannot be ascribed to Agnimitra. See my paper in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Patna, no. 5.
6. Allan (*Op. cit.*) has described only two of the above types (I and III). Under the third type 2 coins are described and illustrated by him (Plate XLVI, 16 and 15). He wrongly thinks that the countermark on coin no. 15 (ibid, p. 210) is a lion figure. In fact it is a standing female figure, of this type some more clear specimens are now known.

Type I : The obverse bearing the three Pañchāla symbols and the name *Agnimitrasa,* and the reverse a male figure (probably Agni) with flaming hair, standing on a platform between two pillars.[1]

Type II : Fire altar and Triśūla-cum-paraśu Type—This type has not so far been duly noticed by scholars. Two coins of this type in the author's collection are described below :

(A) Copper with traces of silver plating, round 0·5″ ; wt. 20·5 grains. **(Pl. VII. 1)**

Obv. Above, traces of the three Pañchāla symbols. Below Brāhmī legend *Agnimitrasa.*

Rev. Over a railed platform in the centre, fire altar with three flames (representing the three Fires). To its left, trident with axe. To right, a long staff, probably indicating a *dhwaja.* (On some coins an arrow pointing downwards is seen attached to the *dhwaja*).[2]

[B] Copper, round .575″, wt. 26.00 grains **(Pl. VII. 2)**

Obv. Above, traces of the Pañchāla symbols. Below in the centre, legend [*A*] *gnimitrasya.*

Rev. Fire altar on a railing. To left *triśūla*-cum-*paraśu.* To right arrow.

The Brāhmī script of these coins seems to be of the first century A. D. In spite of the slight variations in the forms of the name, there is no doubt that the issuer of both the types mentioned above was one and the same Pañchāla ruler.[3]

Type-III: Counter-mark of the female figure (goddess) over the Panchāla symbols–On such coins we have the figure of a standing female imposed on the Pañchāla symbols.

1. Allan, ibid, pl. XXVIII, 8-14.
2. The occurrence of the trident-cum-axe symbol and the banner on these coins can be compared with the Udumbara coins (Allan, ibid, pp. 122-3, pl. XV) and some copper coins of the Kushāṇa king Wima Kadphises. Cf. the altar and the trident-axe symbols on the Gupta coins. (Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins,* pl. I. II. VII ; IV, 8-16)
3. In *JNSI,* XXIV (1962), p. 12, a coin of this ruler was wrongly attributed to king Aśvamitra by the author. The second letter was by mistake read as *śva* instead of *gni.* The mistake has now been detected by me after the examination of several clear coins of this type.

The name, of the king is written as usual on the obverse, and the reverse is similar to that of type[1] I.

On some coins of Bhānumitra also we notice a similar countermark.[2]

Type-IV : One (or more) taurine symbol with two vertical strokes attached to it below, replacing the Pañchāla, symbols.[3] One such speciman is described here : Copper, round, 0.5″, wt. 27.50 grains. **(Pl. VII. 3)**

Obv. At the top and in the centre, taurine, each with two vertical strokes below. At bottom legend [*A*]*gnimitasa*.

Rev. Blurred.

Coming to the coins of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī[4] we notice that copper coins of various denominations were issued by him. The usual features of these coins are :

Obv. Tree in railing, *Indradhwaja* and a few other symbols with the ruler's name *Agimitasa.*

Rev. Bull, Hill on a railed platform, *nandipada* and cross-and-ball symbols.

On some coins of this ruler we also notice a countermark in the shape of a taurine. The name Agnimitra with the title *raño* occurs in a brick inscription obtained from Kauśāmbī and now preserved in the Allahabad Museum. I have identified this ruler with his namesake, the issuer of the Kauśāmbī coinage.[5]

The name Agnimitra also occurs on a clay sealing recovered from the Vaiśālī excavations. Looking to the paleography and the common symbols I have identified Agnimitra of this sealing with the Kauśāmbī[6] king of that name.

Regarding the names of the two rulers, Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra of the Bodhagaya railing pillars, I had advanced a surmise that these were the rulers of Kauśāmbī.[7] From the coins we know of a Brahmamitra of Kauśāmbī and

1. Allan, *Op. cit*, pl. XLVI, 15 and 16.
2. Vincent Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. XXIII, 3.
3. See *JNSI*, III, pp. 80-81.
4. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 83, pl. VII, 16) wrongly describes a coin of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī along with those of the Pañchāla ruler of that name. But the coin-types of the two are different from each other.
5. *JUPHS*, IX, pp. 87-9.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

another from Mathura,[1] the latter having issued a much larger number of coins. In so far as the names Indramitra and Agnimitra are concerned, both these are known from the Pañchāla dynasty. From Kauśāmbī we know of an Agnimitra, but no Indramitra is known so far from there. One of the Bodhagaya inscriptions (No. 9 of Barua) calls Indāgimitra as son of Kauśikī (*Kosikīputrasa*). We are familiar with such metronymics in the cases of several Mitra rulers and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī (cf. *Gāgīputa, Vācīputa*, etc.). This gives weight to my supposition that the two rulers mentioned in the Bodhgaya inscription may have belonged to the Kauśāmbī house. All the same, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the two rulers in question may have belonged to the Mathura and Pañchāla houses respectively. If the latter supposition is correct then in that case the name *Indrāgnimitra* may be taken to mean Agnimitra, the son of Indramitra.[2]

1. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pl. XIX, 11 ; XXV, 12-14 ; Smith, *Op. cit*, pl. XXIII, 5. Allan has assigned the previous Brahmamitra to the house of Kanauj. But in my opinion he belonged to the Kauśāmbī house.
2. I find it difficult to agree with Barua *Op. cit*, page, 75), and with H.C. Raichaudhury (*PHAI*, pp. 325 ff.) that after the fall of the dynasties of Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Kāṇvas, a new Mitra dynasty ruled over Magadha with Kosala and Mathurā as its dependencies. As I have shown elsewhere, after the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the pivot of political power seems to have shifted from Magadha to Kauśāmbī for sometime.

RĀMAGUPTA PROBLEM—A NEW SOLUTION*

AHMAD HASAN DANI

Since the discovery of a few fragments of the lost Sanskrit drama, *Devī-Chandragupta* by Viśākhadatta, the problem of the historicity of Rāmagupta has been mooted by scholars.[1] Literary evidences have been collated from several sources and reconstruction has been made so as to rescusitate this lost king and place him in between Samudragupta, the greatest ruler of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and his son Chandragupta II Vikramāditya against the explicit epigraphic evidence which uses the conventional phrase implying that Chandragupta II succeeded Samudragupta. The epigraphic anomaly has been explained on the plea that collateral relations are usually not mentioned in the inscriptions. But some scholars have viewed this suggestion with great doubt mainly because circumstantially such an ignominous defeat of Rāmagupta, the supposed successor of the greatest Indian conqueror, Samudragupta, at the hand of the Śakas (whoever they might have been), who were deflnitely weaker in comparison to the rising power of the Imperial Guptas, is unbelievable and secondly because the existence of Rāmagupta is proved neither by any Gupta inscription nor by any gold coin. The latter deficiency was sought to be met by attributing to him the gold coins of Kāchagupta.[2] The result, however, remained inconclusive, and it was finally stated, "We must suspend our judgment upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, his fight with the Śakas, and the strange event which deprived him of his throne, life and the natural affection and fidelity of his wife."[3]

Fresh evidence was, however, brought forward by P.L. Gupta[4] when he published newly-discovered copper coins of Rāmagupta from the vicinity of Bhilsa in Malawa, and he forcefully argued to acclaim the king Rāmagupta, but again

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1. For a summary of the views, see R. C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, reprinted 1954, pp. 148-52 with bibliography at the foot of p. 148.
2. See *JNSI*, IX, Pt. II, pp. 131-36. For opposite view, see ibid, XI, Pt. I, pp. 33-37.
3. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 151.
4. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 103-11 which also includes contrary views. For more discoveries, see ibid, XIII, p. 128-30 ; XVIII, p. 108-9, and the summary given by A. S. Altekar in *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras 1957, pp. 162-64.

A. S. Altekar and A. K. Narain belittled the importance of the evidence on the ground that these copper coins were like Malawa copper coins and that the Rāmagupta of these coins may be a local ruler having nothing to do with the Imperial Gupta line. They also suggested that the first Gupta copper series was started by Chandragupta II after his conquest of the Western Kshatrapas and that this latter series bears no relation to the copper issues of Rāmagupta. The result again remained inconclusive, as Altekar summarised : "We shall, however, have to suspend our final judgment till the discovery of more decisive evidence".[1]

Since then no new material has been found,[2] but there is room for reviewing the whole position in the light of the history of Malawa with relation to the Imperial Gupta power. The conquests of Samudragupta and the fame of Chandragupta II have so much blurred the vision of the ancient historians that no one has given definite thought to the position of Malawa, whose western capital was Ujjain and the eastern capital was Airikīṇa. It is at the latter place that the Gupta inscriptions have been found right from the time of Samudragupta to that of Bhānugupta. While Samudragupta claims in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription to have exercised some control over the tribal republics in this area including that of the Mālavas, the exact relation is hardly defined. Could we take them as buffer States between the Imperial Gupta territory on the one hand and the territories of the Western Kshatrapas and later Kushāṇas on the other ? I think this assumption will be belittling the status of Samudragupta. We can put forward some evidence to clear the position. These rupublican states issued coinage in their names but these coins stop totally after Samudragupta's conquests. Does this not mean that at least currency right was taken over from them by Samudragupta ? Even then we cannot say they were absolutely subjects of Samudragupta. We have to give some special status to this entire western region of the Gupta empire. It seems that this status was not much changed even after Chandragupta II conquered the Western Kshatrapas and brought Gujarat under his direct administrative control, because, though large number of Gupta inscriptions have been found in Sanchi and its neighbourhood, two points stand out peculiar in this region.

1. Ibid, p. 164.
2. K. D. Bajpai has since published a new variety of the copper coins of the same Rāmagupta from about the same area (*JNSI*, xxiii, pp. 340-44) and the whole material has been reviewed by D. C. Sircar (*JIH*, XL, Pt. III, pp. 533 ff.), Nisar Ahmad (JNSI, xxv, Pt. I, pp. 106-7) and Jai Prakash (ibid, Pt. II, pp. 164 ff)—*Editor.*

I. In this very region we find the existence of a Varman dynasty beginning with Jayavarman onwards.[1] R. C. Majumdar argues that this dynasty remained independent until A. D. 423, because they do not mention the name of any Gupta ruler in their inscriptions. The first Gupta name mentioned by them is that of Kumāragupta I,[2] but this happens in A. D. 473 when Kumāragupta I was long dead. Another argument which Majumdar brings forward is the fact that the Varman kings date their inscriptions in Mālawa Vikrama era, but this is also the case of the present Mandasor inscription which bears the name of Kumāragupta I. From this reference can we conclude that Kumāragupta I introduced a change in the status of this region and brought it under his direct administration ?

II. The second point comes from two more inscriptional evidences—(i) Tumain fragmentary inscription[3] of Ghaṭotkacha-gupta dated Gupta year 116/A. D. 435-36, and (ii) Mandasor inscription[4] of Govindagupta, dated Vikrama year 524/A. D. 467. What was the position of these Gupta princes in relation to the Imperial Gupta rulers ? This has never been explained properly. The question is still more confounded by the discovery of a single gold coin[5] of Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Archer type. All historians have tried to explain away by referring these events to the troublous time either in the early years of the reign of Skandagupta or immediately after his death. But it is no use shirking the main question and taking recourse to a dark period and saying that Ghaṭotkachagupta and Govindagupta also revolted in this troublous period.

The last inscription shows that Govindagupta, who was the son of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, had a definite princely status in this region, most probably in his father's life-time, and the same status must be given to Ghaṭotkachagupta in the time of Kumāragupta I. What control did these princes exercise over the Varman rulers, is not known. But the very fact that a Varman dynasty is tolerated (probably as feudatory) in this region and at least two Gupta princes hold some sort of an administrative status, imply special significance. Viewed in the background of immediately earlier and later history, these facts have a great political bearing. Towards the end of the 5th century A. D., the Hūṇas made a frontal

1. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 166-67.
2. Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 288-97.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 117.
4. Ibid, XXVII, pp. 15-16.
5. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 264-66.

attack towards this very region and again Yaśodharman of this very region later ousted the Hūṇas.

Taking these historical factors into consideration, we can now reconstruct the special status given to this region by Samudragupta, as is implied in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. If the two later points that we saw in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I were an heritage of an earlier reign, we can as well say that some sort of an autonomy was given to this region by Samudragupta under which the Varmans held their position, and secondly one royal prince was appointed here probably with his headquarter at Airikīṇa in the hilly tract of Ḍabhala or modern Jubbalpur to look after the imperial interests. This practice continued as late as the time of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harshavardhana, when we read in Bāṇa's *Harshacharitam* of two Gupta princes in Malawa. If this practice was started by Samudragupta, who was the prince appointed there, can we not give that status to Rāmagupta who is known to be an elder brother of Chandragupta II ? If we attribute to him the copper coins bearing his name, his position in Malawa becomes uncontested. We will, of course, have to assume that Samudragupta gave to his son the right of issuing coins by snatching that right from the tribal States. It also explains fully why and how Rāmagupta could have a rough time with the Sakas (in this case certainly Western Kshatrapas)—a historical event which has been later exaggerated in literary account. It may also be true that Rāmagupta died in the lifetime of his father. Or it may be that this Airikīṇa region was the last point of campaign undertaken by Samudragupta, not personally but through his son Rāmagupta, but probably it was finally achieved by Chandragupta II after the death of Rāmagupta. It is for this reason that no mention is made of the conquest of this region in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. In any case this drive must have enraged the Western Kshatrapas and the victim was the poor Rāmagupta about whom we have so far been groping. The final victory over the Kshatrapas was no doubt achieved by Chandragupta when Rāmagupta was no more there. The latter died a prince—a martyr in the cause of the Imperial Gupta power, who was destined to hold a status only in Malawa with the right to issue copper coins (so far known) but unfortunately to be derided in later literary accounts.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SO-CALLED APRATIGHA COIN TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Much ink has flown since the issue was first raised by Allan in the first decade of our century, who, on the basis of a single evidence announced the discovery of a new type of Gupta coins belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I.[1] Allan observed- "it seems better to give the non-committal name of Pratāpa, from the reverse legend...can hardly be identified as Kumāragupta as it is utterly unlike any representation of him, nor does it look a regal figure......one of them very closely resembles Minerva." To him a specimen with legible inscription may throw some light on this type. Since then many attempts have been made to read the legend, either in support of Allan or Altekar or an altogether different contention. The discussion got a new lease of life after the discovery of the famous Bayana hoard of the Gupta gold coins.[2] Conjectures have been hazarded and conclusions drawn but none seems satisfied with the viewpoints of others. As a student of the Gupta history, I also feel tempted to dabble in this numismatic problem. It was with this end in view that I invited my colleagues in the Department, Shri T.H.D. Sinha and Shri O. P. Jayaswal to decipher and interpret the legends on these coins. I am thankful to them for their help.

After Allan and before the discovery of the famous Bayana hoard, very few persons touched this problem and those who did, more or less agreed with Allan. C. J. Brown observed..."the obverse of the still rare Pratāpa type, so called from the legend on the reverse, is evidently an adaptation from some foreign, probably, Roman model." (*The Coins of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 44). R. K. Mukherji, writing in 1957 observed "The title may be taken to indicate the restoration of his Pratāpa or power by victories of his crown prince..... The obverse type is unique. It seems to be restruck on another, perhaps non-Indian coin. The central figure is Indian in style, while two others are quite foreign. They probably came from the conquered foreign peoples".[3] Except the last sentence the above para is a verbatim representation of Allan. S. V.

1. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (London, 1914), XCII. No.102.
2. Altekar, *Bayana Hoard* (My review of the same published in the *Spark*, 1957).
3. R. K. Mukherji, *The Gupta Empire* (Bombay, 1957), p. 89,

Sohoni, who has been studying this problem since 1943, has changed his opinion thrice with regard to it.[1] Sohoni, no doubt, deserves credit for having written a number of articles on the Gupta coins and interpreting them in the background of Sanskrit literature and other allied sources. In 1943, he hazarded a guess that this composition (of the so-called Apratigha coins) was suggested by a coin of Huviska showing three different figures, *viz.*, Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena standing on a platform, all three being recognised to be different names of Kumāra in a later period.[2] There are very few scholars who have differed from the views of Allan or Altekar. Noteworthy among them, who have differed from the accepted line of argument, are Sohoni, Mirashi, Majumdar and Ajit Ghose.

Before proceeding to discuss the various aspects connected with the so-called Apratigha coins, I would like to pose the following problems:

1. Kumāragupta I was dead when Skandagupta brought the news of victory.

2. If it was issuued to commemorate the victory over the Pushyamitras—why the king is not depicted in royal dress ?

3. If the queen, depicted on the coin, is the younger one, was he staying with her leaving the Rājamahishī ? Why was the younger queen preferred to the chief queen consort ?

4. *Apratigha*—if the reading be accepted as correct—was this expression meant for Kumāragupta or Skandagupta (the victor) when the younger queen exclaimed like that ?

5. The doubt arises out of the fact that Kumāragupta did not live to see the victory achieved by his son, Skandagupta. Kumāragupta was no doubt a powerful king and there was no diminution of empire but then why the younger queen exclaimed "Apratigha" for the king (if at all) when the victory was achieved by her son ?

6. King-and-Queen types of the Guptas have no similarity with this type.

7. The letters have similarity with the western type and naturally therefore the type seems to have been issued to commemorate some events of importance in western India.

8. In oıdinary dress, his face also does not tally exactly with other issues of his coin-types.

1. *JNSI*, XVIII, 56-63 ; *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, II, 99 ff ; Golden Jubilee Volume of the *JNSI*, pp. 345ff.
2. *INC*, II, 102.

9. No royal titles or any other decorative forms of address are available from this type and as such it may be presumed that it marked some event at a time when he had not assumed royal titles. His civil dress is also indicative of the fact that he had not acquired the royal status and the absence of royal titles supports this contention.

10. It seems that the coin, under reference, was issued at a later date to mark his victory over his own brother Govindagupta in western India.

11. The theory of renunciation does not stand as Kumāragupta was all powerful and at the height of his glory when he died and hence it is futile to think of Kumāragupta's renunciation.

12. Had the coin any special significance except the one marking his victory over his own brother, he would have added all the regal titles etc., and must have appeared in royal dress.

13. After gaining victory over his brother, he is consulting his wife and the commander-in-chief as to how to move now and they, in ecstasy over the victory, explain his invincible power.

14. It further stands confirmed by the fact that here we have simplest expression "Kumāragupta" and nothing more.

15. Sohoni has also asserted that Kumāragupta I had to deal with a big and difficult military campaign when he took over the administration and that this type commemorated that phase in his career and was based on a fancy derived from the mythology of Kumāra.[1] At another place he says—"The mint master wanted to show military valour."[2]

Let us now recollect the views of earlier scholars on this question. To Allan, it was a unique coin which exhibited foreign influence.[3] Hoernle took it to be the representation of Buddha being worshipped by two women. Smith took the central figure as the king surrounded by his consorts.[4] Mirashi took the central figure as some saint surrounded by king and his queen.[5] To R. C. Majumdar, the central figure was that of Śiva and the two others were Nandi and Pārvatī. Majumdar's interpretation of the device on the obverse is that it is the Purāṇic scene of the allurement of Śiva by Pārvatī as depicted in the famous work of Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ*, a source to which Sohoni also takes recourse. B. P. Sinha holds that the abdication question is being debated upon. Sohoni holds

1. *JNSI*, XVIII, 56ff; *INC*, I, 18, 38.
2. *INC*, II, 108.
3. Allan, *Op. cit*, p. 87; *PASB*, 1883, p. 206 ; *JRAS*, 1889. p. 109.
4. *INC*, II, 102-3.
5. *JNSI*, XI, 64.

that this composition was based on the dramatic incident narrated by Kālidāsa in *KS* (Canto-XIII. 21, 44, 45, 46).[1] According to M. C. Joshi, the problem of crown prince was being debated upon. Ajit Ghose suggests that the scene depicted Kumāragupta consulting his parents.[2] He is represented as shorter than the other two figures and also named simply as Kumāragupta without any title of sovereignty. He is being sent on a campaign of conquest by his father who presents him with the *Garuḍa* standard and the shield and the mother blesses him. It was issued to testify to his valour and thus to justify his kingship and hence it was a commemorative issue. According to Altekar, the scene represented Kumāragupta being unsuccessfully persuaded by his queen and general or crown prince not to give up his throne but the king was firm in his resolve and was therefore described on the reverse as invincible. Brajdeva Prasad Roy has suggested that the male figure with a shield is Skandagupta[3] placing his claims to the throne on the basis of the services he has rendered to the State. Shield symbolises the valour of Skandagupta.

Of all the gold coins, hitherto discovered, the Apratigha type is by far the most intriguing one. Since the first of its type, purchased by Rivett-Carnac at Mathura and presented to the British Museum in 1884, was discovered, it has presented a problem and yet awaits final solution. In all, ten coins of this variety have come to light. The legends on both sides are so disturbed and blurred that it is impossible to make out any sense though some scholars by their ingenuity have presented their readings of the same, more to suit their own interpretation of the coin than to the nature of the coin itself. I must admit at the outset that it has not been possible for me to read all the letters of the coin which are on the rim, partially cut and partially blurred. Altekar's *Catalogue* and Sohoni's enlargements hardly solve the problem because the letters of the circular legend are not clear and full. They are cut beyond recognition at many points. There are a number of coin-types in the whole range of the Gupta dynasty but the type, under discussion, continues to be unique and baffles all arguments.[4] Even Altekar admitted that the mystery about its nature and significance is not yet solved. He has rightly suggested that the lettters cant be combined into an intelligible legend, though Mirashi and Sohoni have ventured to do so. A better specimen may solve the riddle of the legend. Altekar

1. *INC*, II, 104.
2. *JNSI*, XXII, 180; XI, 64; XII, 68-71; XVIII, 56-63; 178-86.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV. 164ff.
4. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 207 ff; Also *Bayana Hoard*.

himself has raised a number of problems[1] and has admitted in a scholarly manner-"We can not unfortunately answer any of these questions with confidence."

My colleague, T.H. D. Sinha, after carefully studying the coins, has suggested that the "short name Kumāra has been written under the left arm so the central figure is that of Kumāragupta. Other two figures are of Senāpati and the younger queen (mother of Skandagupta). Dayal reads the reverse legend as *Supratīpa* and says, "it is an epithet of Kumāragupta.", *Supratīpaḥ* is one who bravely encounters his enemy. He thinks that the reverse legend is neither *Apratigha* nor *Śripratāpa* but *Supratīpaḥ* and therefore it should be called *Suparatīpa* type. Another colleague of mine, Jayaswal, agrees with the legend *Kumāragupta* and reads a part of the circular legend as *Prithajakularipudyaptaḥ* (between 3 and 6 O'clock). On the reverse he reads *Apratigha.* He is of opinion that the military personnel is communicating the victory over the Pushyamitras to the king (on the obverse). Jayaswal has rightly hinted that there is no similarity between the queens of the Apratigha type and other coin types of Kumāragupta. He says, "After obtaining the news Kumāragupta might have circulated the Apratigha type of coin representing before the subjects the actual scene of receiving the correct news of victory, where he was styled *Apratigha* or invincible. Side by side the representation of the younger queen was essential to make it clear to the subjects that valiant Skandagupta was her son who defeated the Pushyamitras."

Before a discussion on the Apratigha type, it would not be out of place to recount briefly the achievements of the reign of Kumāragupta I as it is in the background of this perspective that I propose to delineate on the problems raised above. Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya was a very powerful and successful ruler and he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the empire. I have shown elsewhere[2] that Govindagupta ruled between *G. E.* 93 and 96 after Chandragupta II and was ultimately succeeded by Kumāragupta. Even Altekar could not ignore this point and he had to admit that "Govindagupta had usurped the throne during this interval. This theory is supported by very slender datum and there is no epigraphical evidence to support it...he has left us no coinage".[3] The

1. *Ibid*, p. 209.
2. My article on Govindagupta in the *PIHC*, XXIII. 50ff ; *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (June-1963, Baroda).
3. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 5 ; R. N. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, pp. 29-30.

Mandasor Inscription of the Mālawa Saṁvat 521 (=465 A.D.) calls Govindagupta a king.[1] Govindagupta's connection with western provinces is accepted by many and it is admitted by all that Kumāragupta had a rival in prince Govindagupta.[2] There is a covert reference in the Mandasor inscription to the jealousy that Kumāragupta cherished towards his brother. What I aim to derive at here is this that the position during the latter part of the reign of Chandragupta II was not very satisfactory and conditions appear to be worsening in view of the family trouble. It is a curious enigma in the Gupta history that since the days of Chandragupta II (some believe that it was also the case with Samudragupta), the rightful owner of the throne was mysteriously deprived of the authority and the second brother usually ruled, *e.g.*, Rāmagupta was ousted, Govindagupta was thrown out and after Kumāragupta, the real successor, Puragupta, was ignored and Skandagupta succeeded. This seems to have been the general rule in the age of the Imperial Guptas and so if Kumāragupta succeeded in dethroning his brother, there is nothing to worry about it. These unfortunate princes could not be wiped out of memory. The *Devīchandraguptam* preserved the memory of Rāmagupta and the Vaiśāli Seal and the Mandasor Inscription of Govindagupta and Purugupta could be restored by the ingenuity of the scholars on the basis of the coins. Thus there seems to be nothing unusual in the course of the Guptan history if it is admitted that Kumāragupta, before accession, had some trouble with his brother.

It goes to the credit of Kumāragupta that he maintained the glory of the empire. P. C. Bagchi has suggested that the rise of the Kidāra Kushāṇas in the north-west had made Kumāragupta alert and compelled him to establish relationship with China[3]. His alliance with China was a counterstroke to the treaty of the Kushanas with the Sassanids and checkmated their progress[4]. The Indian emperor in the Chinese source is mentioned as the "beloved of the moon" (*Chandrapakāśa*). The *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛitti* of Vāmana informs us that Chandragupta II had a son known as Chandraprakāśa[5]. Both Hoernle and H. P. Shastri believed that this was the pre-accession name of Kumāragupta. All these are indicative of the fact that he was a powerful ruler and wielded extensive power. His sway continued to be what it was during the reign

1. *EI*, XXVII, p. 15 ; *ARASI*, 1903-4, p. 107ff.
2. *PHAI* (6), 566, fn. 1 ; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 298, fn. 1.
3. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 72-73.
4. S. Levi, *L'inde Civilisatrice*, 195-97.
5. Allan, *Op. cit.*

of his father and that is proved by the discovery of his coins from Kumarkhan in the Viramagama district of the state of Gujrat and another hoard at Sanund in the same district. Out of a hoard of nine Kumarkhan coins, one belongs to the reign of Kumāragupta with the legend *Kumāra*[1]. He is said to have married the daughter of the Kadamba king, Kākusthavarman. While all these speak of his glory, the troubles also started during the latter part of his reign on account of the pressure of the Kidār Kushāṇas, the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras[2]. The pressure, however, did not touch the integrity of the empire and the glory remained unimpaired. Hence in the face of such strong empire and with such glorious records of his reign and also in view of his unquestioned sovereignty, it rather sounds unhistorical to suggest that he was thinking to renounce the world. By no stretch of imagination can we prove the theory of renunciation here on the evidence of his Apratigha coin and that also at a time when he was at the height of his glory. What was there to necessitate his renunciation at all ? The legends on the Apratigha coins, at least, do not give any such impression. Just before his accession there were troubles and as soon as he got over them, he settled down and completely entrenched himself. He managed his affairs so well that the glory of the Gupta empire remained untarnished. Why should a king, whose friendship was courted by many contemporary rulers, think of renunciation ?

With this background of the contemporary political history, we may now discuss the significance of the so-called Apratigha coins of Kumāragupta I. The problems, posed above, are ticklish and do not admit of any positive verification at any end in the present state of our knowledge, and insufficient datum. The legends are as problematical as the Harrappan seals, read by persons and interpreted in the manner that suits them best. The three persons represented on the obverse do not admit of any actual verification. The figure on the right is a female and on the left is male holding a shield close to his torso. The central figure in *Dhoti*, hands folded at the waist with some type of headdress. The female figure to the right is in a *Sāri*, with left hand on the waist, has her right hand bent up and raised in the attitude of argumentation, her fingers almost touching the central figure. The male figure standing to the left of the central figure, wearing a close-fitting cap, left hand holding a shield in front of the torso and the right hand bent

1. *JNSI*, XXII, 265 ; XV, 195-96.
2. *JBBRAS* (1930), p. 282-283 ; *PIHC*, XXI, 160-61

up either holding *Garuḍadhwaja* just behind the central figure or in *vitarkamudrā*. The reverse has goddess Lakshmi seated on a full blown lotus with left hand on waist and right hand holding a lotus.

Legend on the *obverse*—written horizontally but in lines placed vertically between the central figure and figures on its either side ; On right side to be read from top to bottom, *Kumāra*, on the left side to be read from bottom to top *Guptaḥ*.

Legend on the *reverse*—*Aprṛtigha* read by Altekar and many others who have since changed views ; *Śrīpratāpa* by Allan and many others who have since changed views and now by Sohoni also ; *Supratīpa* by my colleague, T. H. D. Sinha.

The obverse legend as read by Altekar is *Pratapara* and letters between III and VII can be read as *Pra, pu, ra, pa, pu.* Mirashi reconstructs the obverse legend in the following manner—*Pratāparamādharāḥ Śrī Prathama Parākrama Vapuḥ...* Sohoni suggests that the circular legends on the obverse consists of the following four parts :—

(a) ......*Pratāpa Parameśwaraḥ* (ending at 3 o'clock).

(b) *Śrīprathitakularūpadṛptaḥ* (ending at 6 o'clock).

(c) *Nirupamaguṇa mahārṇṇavaḥ* (ending at 9 o'clock).

(d) *Aprativāryavīryaḥ* (ending at 10 o'clock).

The text as translated by Sohoni is as follows—"(1) Valour, the king and the goddess of Fortune ; (2) (Kumāragupta) being proud of belonging to a famous dynasty and of his beauty ; (Kumāragupta) a foaming ocean of incomparable virtues ; and (d) of irresistible prowess." Regarding the reverse, in his latest he has supported Allan. Vāmana's description of Chandraprakāśa favourably compares with the legend as reconstructed above by Sohoni. The reading suggested by my friend, Jayaswal, as given earlier means "dreadful enemy of the king".

It must be admitted here that none of the coins, even the plates referred to by Sohoni (*INC*-II. 110 ; Plate 1, No. 5) admit of any verification so far as the reading of the obverse legend is concerned. Except a few letters like *pra, ku, pu, pa, dra, va* etc. I have not been able to make out any sense of the obverse though the reverse is a bit legible and may be clearly

read as *Apratigha*. Even if we read it as *Śrīpratāpa* or *Supratīpa* it does not bring any difference in the sense or in meaning, but to make any sense out of the obverse legend is certainly very difficult. It should be borne in mind here that every coin type of the Imperial Guptas is associated with some important event and this Apratigha type, under reference, was also issued to commemorate some event. I am of opinion that Kumāragupta issued this coin somewhere in western India to commemorate his victory over his brother Govindagupta as a result of which the former became the emperor. The legend on the obverse has been read as *Parameśwara* by Sohoni who takes it as the "first occurence in a legend of a coin type of the Gupta dynasty" (*INC*-II. 100). The reading *Pṛthitakularūpadṛptaḥ* further refers to a dreadful enemy of the king. We have seen above that Kumāragupta, after his accession, continued to be powerful and his other coin types represent him in full royal dress but the *Apratigha* is the only type where he is represented in a purely civil dress. He is seen here discussing with his commander and the queen about the victory over his brother and his consequent assumption of political power. The commander and the queen are expostulating of his victory for the future of the Gupta empire and Kumāragupta is seen brooding over their suggestions. While the commander is with all his usual standard, the queen is seen convincing him of the feasibility of taking strong measures to save the western provinces from further ruin. The western provinces were always a headache to the Guptas. The civil composition of the coin is further attested by the fact that the queen herself is on the right and not on the left as she should have been according to the traditional Indian style of *Ardhānginī* or *Vāmāngī*. Since the whole atmosphere was informal and they were busy discussing things in a purelly informal manner, no attention was paid towards this aspect. The coin was issued more with a view to commemorate than for usual circulation and hence the mint master did not mind this unusual feature of placing queen on the right of the king. The whole thing was taken as a sort of family affair. The figures represented here are in a jovial mood to placate Kumāragupta who appears to be a bit morose over his own action against his uterine brother. His dress and posture are sufficient to show that he had not yet assumed the royal insignia of the Imperial Guptas. He seems to have intentionally issued this type to commemorate this important event of his life which has otherwise been forgotten.

The Garuḍa standard is characteristic of the heraldic emblem of the Guptas and that is why the Garuḍa standard has been retained here. The letters of this type are of western

variety and Upasaka has pointed out that a shape of the letter on the Apratigha coin exhibits a clear influence of the Kshatrapa characters. Other forms show a close similarity with the western variety[1-2]. Needless to say that all the Apratigha coins have been discovered from western provinces. Even Chandragupta II copied the Kshatrapa coinage[3]. More than thousand coins of Garuḍa type of Kumāragupta have been discovered from the western provinces and it appears that throughout his long reign he succeeded in maintaining his hold on that part of the empire. While Vāmana's evidence is there, Sohoni suggests that "*Bālachandrikā*" has been shown near *Śrī*. Chandra only showed the undiminished glory of the Guptas[4]. It is rather too farfetched to identify the male figure with a shield with Skandagupta[5]. Kumāragupta issued this coin not to show or prove his valour against the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas (for which Skandagupta takes all credit in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription) but to establish his victorious claim over his brother Govindagupta. Had he issued these coins with the intention of commemorating his victories over the Pushyamitras or the Hūṇas, he must have appeared in full royal dress and with known legend and could not have satisfied himself with the so-called epithet "*Parameśwara*" or merely with Kumāragupta. He personally did not show his valour against the Pushyamitras which he actually did against his brother. *Apratīvāryavīryaḥ* (if we accept the reading) exhibits his pride of being a man of irressistible prowess and the epithet naturally suits him when we take into consideration his jealousy towards his own brother. Sohoni, at one place, conceded this much that Kumāragupta had to undertake a difficult militaiy campaign and this type commemorated that phase of his career (*JNSI*-XVIII-56-63). The western part of the empire was always a source of trouble and Govindagupta was deputed to keep that area in check ; Govindagupta's sway over that part seems to have been very strong. The Udayagiri inscription does not mention Kumāragupta but simply refers to the family of the Guptas (Fleet No. 61), though in the Tumain Insciiption, he is said to have siezed the earth by his powerful arms. Thus whatever trouble he had, he had it from the west as the provenance of the Apratigha is also attributed to the west. This type must have been issued therefore to commemorate that event of his life when he had scored victories in the west but had not attained royal status. Buston's account of the

1. *INC*, II ; *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 345-56.
2. *INC*, II, 56ff.
3. Allan, XXXVIII
4. *JNSI*, XXV, 165.
5. Ibid, 167 ; *JBRS*, XLII, p. 403.

Tibetan source (P. 171- relating to *Chandragarbha Paripričhchhā*) does not help us much in arriving at any solid conclusion. Ajit Ghose is much nearer the truth when he says that the obverse represents young Kumāragupta before accession when he is sent on a campaign of conquest by his father. The trouble seems to have started then. Both Sohoni and Majumdar have taken recourse to the *KS* (Canto-XIII. 21, 445, 45, 46 ; and XV. 28), for the interpretation of this type. According to Sohoni, it was best accounted for "as an issue intended to depict his setting out to fight a real menace......and the composition on the obverse is best understood in terms of a dramatic incident by Kālidāsa in his *KS* (29). Whether Kumāragupta actually took his motif from the *KS* or not will remain a matter of guess until further evidence is forthcoming but the fact remains that if the story of Kumāra was, at all, borrowed for representation on the coin, that was done purely to represent the victory of Kumāra over Tāraka. The whole history of the Guptas is full of beautiful and resplendent Sanskrit verses and if the obverse legend, as reconstructed by Sohoni, be taken as the accepted reading, one thing is evident that the composer was a poetic genius.

Knowing the limits of Kumāra before his accession and keeping in view the brewing internecine strife, the composer very shrewdly used the epithet that did not mar the glory of the man for whom it was meant. The literary standard was undoubtedly at its peak. The supposed menace for Kumāragupta before his accession was his own brother. He might have secured the help of his courtiers who in anticipation of his victory might have wished him godspeed. What we see here is the absence of regal dress but it should be borne in mind that the head-dress is nothing more than the *Sikhaṇḍābharaṇa*, an accepted ornament which could be used for both the purposes. In the *KS*, Kumāra is depicted as setting cut to fight a menace. Kumāragupta fought to finish and thereby earned the gratitude of all his supporters who stood for his kingship. Whether Kālidāsa had in mind Kumāragupta or not is a disputed point at the moment. After his victory over his brother, he established his position and commemorated this event by the issue of a coin type which is unique among all the Gupta coin types. In the present state of our knowledge of the Gupta coinage, no other explanation seems to be more plausible. Had it referred to any other important item, it should not have gained precedence over the Aśvamedha type. He does not seem to have issued the Apratigha type just after his accession but placed it somewhat later and made it popular in western provinces whether he and his father had to make their position

felt in view of the disturbed condition. Very few coins of this type have come to light and that also from the western part.

It seems reasonable to suggest that he intended to have this type circulated in those parts with the representations showing the discussions about his victory. The Garuda standard is also a fact to be reckoned with. It was associated with the military operations against the recalcitrant enemies. The evidences of the Bhitari pillar inscription–*Vichalita kulalakshmī— Viplutāṁ Vaṁśalakshmīṁ* are brought to bear upon the events of the reign of Kumāragupta which to my mind, are irrelevant. Skandagupta takes full credit for all victory and says that he did it by his own valour (*Svabhujajanitavīryarāja rājādhirājaḥ, Vyapetya sarvvān Manujendraputrān Lakshmī swayaṁ yaṁ varayāñchakāra.* Hence we cannot force credit upon Kumāragupta for which his son takes credit. I have shown elsewhere that there is no evidence to suggest that the Hūṇas advanced against India in the reign of Kumāragupta[1]. At any rate he was dead before that incident. Hence we are compelled to reject the accepted theories about the Apratigha coin and to suggest that it marked the close of a family quarrel for the throne and ultimate victory of Kumāragupta over his brother Govindagupta. Here the mood is not of renunciation but of brooding over the shape of things to come and he is persuaded by the queen and the commander to go ahead with his usual kingly responsibilittes. Kumāragupta is described as valorous and the expression is for him. The head-dress can not be a substitute of full regal dress. He issued this coin type without adding any colour of royalty to it. Needless to say that he was a man of irresistible prowess and incomparable virtues. The literary and poetic excellence of the restored legend (sic ?) speaks of the literary genius of the Gupta period. He commemorated the victory certainly without any ostentation as it concerned the family feud and that he did with the issue of this type.

Abbreviations

ARASI—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JBRS—Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay branch of the RAS.
INC—Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
PASB—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PIHC—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
KS—*Kumārasaṁbhava.*

30. R. K. Choudhary, *The Hūṇa Invasion of India* in the Altekar Volume of the JBRS.

THREE SILVER PLATED GUPTA COINS FROM SHERDI, JUNAGADH DISTRICT (GUJARAT STATE)

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

[Plate I]

Recently during my explorations in the lower Bhadar valley in western Saurashtra, a number of sites of Kshatrapa affiliation was located by me. Some of them undoubtedly go back to the late Kshatrapa period but were mainly village sites of the Gupta period. This is attributable, broadly speaking, from the nature of the pottery which was, by and large, of considerably evolved and degenerate character of post-Kshatrapa levels of Saurashtra-Gujarat, and the typical Red Polished Ware as the diagnostic element of the Kshatrapa period was very meagre and of limited occurrence. Among these sites, one situated near the modern village of Sherdi, not far from the Bhadar banks and known as the Kanthario timbo, was, by way of physical area, much bigger than the rest. From here, an enthusiastic local student (Sri Nakum of Bantwa) had collected some pottery and a few coins and was good enough to show them to me when I visited the site. The pottery, as mentioned above, were mostly of the late and post-Kshatrapa, and even later mediæval forms. The three coins found from the site, however, were of some significance. They are now noted hereunder.

The coins are all of the same shape, although, being in different stages of wear and tear, their weights and outer rims have become irregularly angular. They would seem to pertain to the silver-plated coins of Kumāragupta I,[1] with a copper core, which have been so far noted mainly around the site of the ancient Valabhi. Since the present coins have been found considerably west of Valabhi, they have a special import and might tend to indicate the wide provenance of such silver-coated issues and the debased sub-standard coinage imitating Kumāragupta's that might have been a sequel to the cracking imperial power and colonial economy. In the coins under study, it is found that they are considerably less in weight than the standard silver coins of Kumāragupta, the range of difference being as much as 12-20 grains. It has been suggested[2] that, as with the Roman custom, such coins might have been issued, by mint authorities for payment of expenses. But this does not appear to be invariably the case and particularly such coating of copper with silver in coinage has been of rare occurrence. In the present instance, there is the additional feature that although basically all the three coins found at

1. Allan, *BMC,GD*, London (1914), pp. xcvi-xcvii.
2. Smith ,V. A, *JRAS* (1893), pp. 137 ff.

Sherdi site appear to be of the same 'Valabhi' fabric of Kumāragupta and carry head of king on obverse, there is considerable difference in their reverse features. While two of the coins **(Pl. I. 10 & 11)** are of *Garuḍa* type apparently, although rendered in a crude fashion, one **(Pl. I. 9)** has what appears to be a standing bull, facing proper right, on the upper middle of the reverse, with one of the fore-legs partly raised, with the lower part carrying apparently some legend which is not intelligible but would seem to be palæographically contemporary or slightly later to Kumāragupta's times as seen on his coins. Of the other two again, one **(Pl. I. 10)** has curiously enough a part of the legend (*Kumāragupta Mahen*)*drasya* seen on the obverse on one of the margins near the face, at the same place where usually the garbled Roman letters are found in Kumāragupta coins. There is thus every possibility, alike from the fact that the weights of these three coins are considerably less than the standard weight of even such silver-coated coins and is ranging from 5 grains to 15 grains, and since they have the symbols, legends and head of king rendered in a crude and rather stylised manner, and by the unconventional nature of the legend location and use of the standing bull symbol, that these three coins may form part of an issue imitating Kumāragupta coins of the silver coated type representing a very degraded socio-economic situation in the western part of Saurashtra. These coins were said to have been actually found inside a small broken pot and thus indicate the savings of the concerned citizen and that they were saved so also vouches for the fact that they were still in circulation at the time of hoarding and, if so, indicates the spread of this 'Valabhi' fabric of Kumāragupta coins in a very widespread area in Saurashtra.

There is an interesting correspondence between the legend as said to have been read on the fifteen small copper coins dug up on the Valabhi site and believed to be from the same hoard as the twenty Gupta copper coins presented by the Chief of Vala, some of which were coated with thin film of silver.[1] The legend read as *Parama Bhagavata Rajadhiraja Kumaragupta Mahadrasya.* The correct reading was probably *Mahendrāditya,* but the possessive ending *Mahendrasya* is also found in one of the silver-coated coins now under reference, although it is on the obverse and is only partly preserved (*-drasya*). There is thus every reason to believe that these coins from Sherdi under study might form part of the local issues of such silver-coated coins either issued during the period of Kumāragupta and which might have continued to be legal

1. Smith, V. A, op. cit., p. 137.

tender even in western part of Soraṭh (present Junāgadh) District quite far away from Valabhi, or adapted and minted in more debased and thinner forms (as are our present coins) than the standard ones, by some local authorities in the Western Saurashtra, to fill the currency vacuum until the Maitraka 'Valabhi' coins (*Śrī Sarvabhattāraka* type) replaced them.

While Smith held that there was a genuine copper currency exactly indentical in weight, size, devices and legend with the silver one, Allan[1] and Altekar[2] disagree with this view and hold that all the coins now appearing as copper and also those which are even now found retaining their silver plating in a greater or lesser degree fully or partially, were part of a debassed silver currency since no king would issue silver and copper currency of identical fabric, as that would constitute an economic and financial fraud on the people. On the other hand, the fact that the political and financial stringency of the circumstances compelled Kumāragupta to sanction the issue of silver-plated copper pieces as Silver issues was considerably more acceptable. Such a recourse had been taken by earlier kings also as Nahapāṇa as well as Chashṭana, his near successor, and in the Roman coinage also.

The acute disparity in the weight between the standard type of such silver coated currency and the coins now under study calls for some remarks. It is found that while the lowest weight of the three coins is nearly a fourth of the standard weight, the highest is only half of it. Thus it is open to doubt whether these coins could not have been forgeries of the standard silver-plated copper variety. The fact that the least heavy of the three coins is also partially damaged in its size and shape may indicate that, had it been full, it might have been nearer to half the standard weight. Further, there is considerable wear and tear particularly on the obverse and this might have accounted for some reduction in weight but, one would be tempted to feel, not to the extent found actually. Despite the general similarity in obverse and reverse devices to the western Indian silver and silver-coated copper issues of Kumāragupta, it is not to be ignored that, as already mentioned, there are some discrepancies in the details, like the standing bull symbol with some legend below in one of the coins, the occurrence of legend of part of king's name (*-drasya*) on the obverse near king's face in another. It is thus within the realms of possibility, either that these three coins formed part of a currency which was sub-standard and debased and initiated by a local quasi-independent authority, or that they

1. Allan, *BMC,GD,* p. xc, vii.
2. Altekar, A.S, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire,* p. 234, Banaras. (1957).

were deliberate forgeries. The fact that they had been found in a small pottery vessel in the site would go to show that they were taken as valid currency. Hence the three coins, found away from Valabhi in the Western part of Junagadh District carry the story of the degree of lack of central authority towards the close of Kumāragupta's reign or immediately after his reign, which could not enforce even minimum stipulations for coin currency, and how local authority for minting coins of dubious value might have mushroomed up.

Description of Coins

No. 1 : Wt. 5 grains ; size—rough irregularly square trimmed of about 15 mm. **(Pl. I. 9)**

Obv. Highly blurred head of king facing proper left rather to one side. Patches of the copper visible.

Rev. Standing bull facing proper right with raised foreleg, on upper middle. Legend (illegible) below.

Such a bull figure is not known from any of the silver issues of Kumāragupta, although the recumbent bull type in silver issue of his central provinces is available It is thus not clear if this coin forms part of an issue during the time of Kumāragupta himself or after him by some local ruler utilising the bull figure as symbol. Maitraka kings had bull crest but Valabhi-Maitraka silver coins are entirely different and do not employ bull emblem.

No. 2 : Wt. 11 grains ; size—oblong with convex edges ; 1½ mm length ; with max. width 13 mm, and minimum width 8 mm. **(Pl. I. 10)**

Obv. Head of king facing proper right along the lengthwise direction with part of legend near the face reading–*drasya*. Small patches of copper core visible.

Rev. *Garuḍa*, very crudely represented (or is it a horse ?) ; Border blurred.

No. 3 : Wt. 9 grains ; size—roughly elliptical with some sharp length 15 mm. max. corners ; width 13 mm ; minimum width—8 mm. **(Pl. I. 11)**

Obv. Head of king facing proper left, stylised and partly blurred. Greek letter like *H. O.* before face.

Rev. *Garuḍa* crudely represented. Border of dots only partly existing on the lower right. Legend badly eroded and partly visible possibly *Mahara*......... *Kumaragu*.........This matrix would pertain to type Class I of Altekar's classifications.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF MAHENDRĀDITYA AND KRAMĀDITYA OF REPOUSSE GOLD COINS

NISAR AHMAD

Certain repousse gold coins are known with the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* from South Kosala area. The first coin of an unknown provenance, bearing this legend, was published by Prayag Dayal, who attributed it to Kumāragupta I of Gupta dynasty.[1] Ajit Ghose, in a note on the same coin, suggested the name of Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal as its issuer.[2] Then in 1948, V. P. Rode published a hoard of similar coins from Khairtal and classified them into two groups—(i) issued by Kumāragupta I and (ii) issued by king Tivaradeva and his successors.[3] In his editorial note on Rode's paper, A.S. Altekar maintained that they were not the issues of Kumāragupta I but of some local ruler of South Kosala, who had assumed the *biruda* of *Mahendrāditya*.[4] In the absence of more definite proof, Altekar was also not convinced by Mirashi's suggestion that these coins might be the issues of a ruler of Śūra dynasty in the name of his suzerain Kumāragupta I.[5]

In 1954, Balchandra Jain published a hoard of 12 coins of similar fabric, which were found at village Bhandara in Chanda district. It contained only one coin with the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* ; others having the legend *Śri Prasannamātra*.[6] Jain held that the Mahendrāditya of these coins might be the successor of Narendra, the ruler of Śarbhapur.[7] But in 1960, when he found, from the village Pitaiband in the Raipur district, forty coins of this type with the coins of Kramāditya, totally similar in style, fabric and weight, he changed his previous view and thought that the coins with the legend *Mahendrāditya* were issued by Kumāragupta and those with the legend *Kramāditya* by his successor Skandagupta.[8]

Lately, P. L. Mishra has suggested that these coins should be attributed to king Mahendra of Allahabad Praśasti.[9] He further said that Mahendrāditya was the ruler of Naḷa dynasty.[10]

1. *NS*, XLIV, p. 11.
2. Ibid, XLVI, pp. 21-22.
3. *JNSI*, X, pp. 137-39.
4. Ibid, p. 339.
5. Ibid, XI, pp. 108-10. See Altekar's editorial note on p. 110.
6. Ibid, XVI, p. 215-18.
7. Ibid, p. 218.
8. Ibid, XXII, pp. 184-7.
9. *IHQ*, XXXVII, p. 2
10. Ibid, XXXVI, pp. 247-259.

Thus there are clearly two sets of opinions about the identity of the coins bearing the legend *Mahendrāditya*. According to one, they were issued by Kumāragupta I of Gupta dynasty and according to the other, they were the issues of some local ruler or rulers of South Kosala. It is proposed here to examine both these riews.

If these coins are attributed to Gupta king Kumāragupta I, we should take notice of the following facts :

(i) The gold coinage of the Guptas has certain characteristics of its own. No Gupta gold coins weigh less than 1C0 grains. Nor they were issued in repousse or had a blank reverse. The coins under reference weigh only in the proximity of 20 grains and differ very much from the fabric of Gupta gold coins.

(ii) The script of Gupta coins is always the Brāhmī of Northern type, while the legends on these coins are of the box-headed variety, which is the peculiarity of the South, where Kumāragupta I had hardly any hold.

(iii) The area, from where these repousse coins are found was in 5th-6th century A. D. under the control of Naḷa dynasty, The Nalas were not the feudatories of the Guptas but independent rulers.

(iv) The use of the Gupta era in a record of Bhīmasena II discovered from Arang in Raipur district need not prove that South Kosala was included in the Gupta empire. The Kings known from this record were actually ruling in the eastern part of Mekhala and a very small western part of South Kosala and not on the regions from where the coins of Mahendrāditya are found.

(v) There is hardly any evidence to show that South Kosala was ever administered by Kumāragupta I. Indeed Samudragupta subdued the king of South Kosala but liberated[1] him, and therefore we can not say that Kosala from the time of Samudragupta had any connection with the Gupta empire.

(vi) A large number of coin types of Kumāragupta I have been found in the Bayana and other hoards, but not a single coin of the present type is found in any one of them.

(vii) The present coins are known exclusively from South Kosala region, while the Gupta gold coins were never local. All their types are found throughout their empire.

(viii) No coin of the present type is known of any of the successors of Kumāragupta I.

1. *CII*, III, p. 7.

(ix) Jain writes that "the cluster of dots and the *Kalaśa* symbols on the coins of Mahendrāditya are very much similar to those occurring on the coins of Prasannamātra" and therefore it appears that "this type was borrowed from the coins of Prasannamātra who most likely was contemporary of Kumāragupta I."[1] As the reign of Kumāragupta I ended in 456 A. D.[2] and Prasannamātra, the king of Śarbhapurian dynasty, ruled in the early part of sixth century A.D.,[3] this hypothesis in untenable.

In view of the above, it is extremely unlikely that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta I. Simply the name Mahendrāditya on the coins is not enough to attribute them to Kumāragupta I inspite of the fact that this was his *biruda.*

In all likelihood, therefore, these coins are the issues of some local ruler of South Kosala.

Mirashi thinks that the local ruler or rulers, who issued these coins, were the feudatories of the Guptas. He identifies them with the kings of Śūra dynasty. His hypothesis is like this : Mahendra of Kosala (*i. e.* South Kosala), who was first defeated and then reinstated by Samudragupta according to Allahabad pillar inscription, must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. Sure indication of this acknowledgement is available in the adoption of the Gupta era by the Kosala kings. The copper-plate grant of Bhimsena II, found at Arang in the Raipur district of Chhattisgarh, which is dated in the Gupta year 182, shows that down to A. D. 501 Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Mahākosala or Chhattisgarh. Bhīmasena II, the issuer of the grant, was the sixth in the dynasty ; so calculating on the basis of 20 years for a generation, the date of Śūra, the first king mentioned in the grant, would be the first quarter of the fifth century A. D.

Thus Mirashi makes Śūra contemporary of Kumāragupta I and suggests that he might have introduced this coinage of his suzerain in his country. He explains the issue by saying that there was perhaps a dynastic change in Dakshiṇa Kosala at that time and Śūra obtained the throne with the help of Kumāragupta I and in gratitude he issued these coins in the name of his suzeraign. In support of his assumption, he points to the letter *Śa* stamped below the legend on the coins as the initial of the king's name, Śūra ; and the letter *da* as that of Dayitavarman I or II.

1. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 186.
2. *The Classical Age*, p. 23.
3. Ibid, p. 219.

Besides his suggestion that Śūra got the throne with the help of Kumāragupta I, Mirashi, at another place, has said that Śūra was the successor of Mahendra.[1] Who this Mahendra was, we do not know. If he was the same Mahendra, the king of Kosala, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti*, we are left to bewilder as to why Kumāragupta I helped Śūra against one who was already under the Gupta suzerainty from the time of his grandfather Samudragupta. But Mahendra of South Kosala, who was defeated by his grandfather could not be his contemporary.

Leaving aside the hypothetical issue of the succession of Śūra, if we look to the real facts, the inscriptions of Ganj and Nachne-ki-Talai inform us that Vyāghra-rāja, who was defeated by Samudragupta along with Mahendra and other kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithvīsheṇa I.[2] It means that the Vākāṭakas had established their supremacy over South Kosala and its vicinity. It is very likely that Mahendra would also have accepted the Vākāṭaka suzerainty along with his neighbour Vyāghrarāja.

Since Chandragupta II had established a matrimonial alliance with Pṛithvīsheṇa by giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to his son Rudrasena, it is unlikely that Kumāragupta I would have subdued the feudatories of his brother-in-law Rudrasena II or his sister's son Pravarasena II and annexed the Kosala territory. This finds support from the fact that not a single record of Kumāragupta has been found in this region.

Even if we ignore these facts, it is difficult to accept that these coins were issued by Śūra dynasty in the name of Kumāragupta I. According to Mirashi's own surmises, the coin having *pa* below the legend would be the issue of some king of Śūra dynasty whose name began with that letter. But we know no name beginning with the letter *pa* in the geneology given in the Arang plate. As such, the *pa*-initialed ruler of the Śūra dynasty could only exist either before Śūra or after Bhīmasena II. But the palæography of the coins with the letter *pa* rules out their place before the coins having the letter *Śa*, meant for Śūra. On the same ground the coins cannot be placed after Bhīmasena II also. We know from Ajanta record of Harisheṇa, who ruled upto *c*. 510 A. D., that he had conquered South Kosala.[3] It means that just after Bhīmasena II, it came

1. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp., 217, 319.
2. Ganj inscription, *CII*, III, No. 54; Nachne-ki-Talai inscription, *EI*, XVII, 12; Majumdar, R. C. and Altekar, A. S., *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p, 101
3. *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. XIV, p. 11,

under the sphere of Vākāṭakas of Basim branch, if the date of Arang plate, Gupta year 182 (as read by Mirashi) is correct; and there was no occasion for any Śūra ruler to issue coins in the name of Kumāragupta I.

Again, it is suggested by Mirashi that the coins bearing the letter *da* were issued by Dayitavarman I or II. The palæography of the coins bearing the letter *śa* and *da* exhibit a long gap between them. The coins with the letter *da* cannot be assigned to Dayitavarman I. If we take that they were issued by Dayitavarman II, who ruled, according to Mirashi, 80 years after the foundation of the dynasty, then one would like to know as to why Dayitavarman II issued the coins in the name of Kumāragupta (Mahendrāditya), who had died long back in 455 A. D. If Śura had issued the coins in the name of his suzerain Kumāragupta I and in gratitude, then his successor or Dayitavarman should have issued coins in the name of his contemporary suzerain and not in the name of one who had died long back.

Whatever might be the significance of the additional letters below the legend, it is almost certain that they do not indicate names of the feudatories of the Guptas. We find such additional letters on the coins of the Aśvamedha and Lyrist types of Samudragupta and the coins of later imperial Guptas. But one would hardly admit that the Aśvamedha and Lyrist type coins were issued by the feudatories of Samudragupta and not by latter himself. Similarly the presence of the letters on the coins of later Imperial Guptas cannot be the initials of their feudatories. They were by themselves weak and their feudatories were gradually becoming independent.

Thus it is clear that these coins were not issued by feudatories of the Guptas. It is also unlikely that they were issued by any Śūra ruler in his own right. As D. C. Sircar has pointed out, "the dynasty was probably ruling about the northern fringe of South Kosala country", and "possessed a small territory."[1] The coins bearing the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* are known from such part of South Kosala and the adjoining Orissa, that were beyond the reach of Śūra kings.

The suggestion of P. L. Mishra that these coins belonged to king Mahendra of Allahabad *praśasti* and who was the king of Nala dynasty may be brushed aside without going into any detail. The Allahabad *praśasti* was engraved in the mid of the fourth century A. D., while the palaeography of the coins shows that they were issued not earlier than the fifth century A. D.

1. *IHQ*, XXII, p. 62.

The coins of Mahendrāditya can not be attributed to any ruler of Śarbhapurian or Naḷa dynasty as none of them adopts the title of *āditya*.

These coins may be attributed to Mahendrāditya mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara*. It says that there was a world-conquering king named Mahendrāditya in the famous city Ujjayinī. When *Mlechchhas* (*Asuras*) were creatiag havoc on the earth, all the gods with Indra as their leader, prayed to Śiva to send some hero on the earth to destroy the *Mlechchhas*. Śiva, assuring them protection, directed his gaṇa Mālyavat to be born as the brave son of king Mahendrāditya and subdue the Rākshasas, Yakshas and Vetālas. And thus Vikramāditya was born. He defeated many kings. "King Mahendrāditya, seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great valour, and beloved by his subjects, duly anointed him heir to his realm, and, being himself old, retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇasī, and made the god Śiva his refuge."[1] B. P. Sinha identifies Mahendrāditya of *Kathāsaritsāgara* with Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty,[2] but there is no indication in any Gupta record that Kumāragupta I retired to religious life, and, therefore, this supposition can be put aside.

In Gondwana, the tribals still worship the Rākshasa king Rāvaṇa. Most Likely, the Rākshasas and others mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara* were tribals living in Gondawana and its neighbouring areas and coins with the legend Mahendrāditya may be assigned to Mahendrāditya of the text. Most probably Mahendrāditya was the ruler of South Kosala. As in the time of the author of *Kathāsaritsagara* Ujjayinī city was very famous, he attached Mahendrāditya with it. Many such blunders are seen in this text, for instance, it says that Udayana, the ancient king, fought with Mohammedans.[3]

When Mahendrāditya ruled, it can not be said exactly, but at the present state of our knowledge, we may place him after the fall of Naḷa dynasty, in last quarter of 5th century or a little later.

II

We have referred above to Balchandra Jain's discovery of coins bearing legend *Kramāditya* and his identification of the latter with the Gupta king Skandagupta.[4] Many Gupta rulers used this title, for instance Ghaṭotkachagupta and

1. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Tawney, Penzer, IX, pp. 2ff.
2. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 211-12.
3. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, IX, p. 103.
4. *Supra*, pp. 31.

Kumāragupta II. But as the coins of Kramāditya were found along with the coins of Mahendrāditya, the supposed Kumāragupta I, there was no alternative but to identify Kramāditya with Skandagupta.

Jain does not explain why the hoard contains only 5.12% coins of his proposed Skandagupta. The small number of the coins of Kramāditya is indicative of his short reign over this region.

There are other points which should also be considered regarding the attribution of these coins.

Jain writes that "no symbols are found on the coins of Kramāditya and those of the Naḷa kings. There is a variety of Mahendrāditya's coins that does not have any symbol below the legend."[1] This type having the solitary letters "was continued by Kramāditya on whose coins we have a single letter *ru* and no symbol. The coins of Kramāditya were followed by those of the Naḷa kings. There the practice of putting the solitary letters has been given up and the device changed."[2]

Most of the scholars make the powerful Naḷa king Bhavadattavarman contemporary of Narendrasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[3] The latter was ruling from c. 440 A.D. to c. 460 A.D.[4] Altekar writes that Bhavadattavarman defeated Narendrasena in 445 A. D. and "soon after the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena succeeded in driving them out."[5] It seems to him that Bhavadattavarman died near 450 A.D. Allowing twenty years to his rule, his ascending year can be placed in 430 A.D. We have two other Naḷa kings[6] who preceeded Bhavadattavarman[7] and issued similar money. Thus we see that the coins of the Naḷa kings were issued from the beginning of the 5th century A. D. Skandagupta probably ascended the throne in *c.* 456 A. D.[8] Hence the hypothesis that the coins of Naḷas followed Kramāditya is untenable. So also is the hypothesis as we have already seen, that Prasannamātra was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I, and the cluster

1. Jain, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 186.
2. Ibid, p. 187.
3. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, 1954, pp. 107-8.
4. Ibid, p. 106.
5. Ibid, p. 108.
6. *JNSI*, I, pp. 29-35.
7. I have said in the preceding issue of this *journal* (XXV, pt. I, pp. 107-8 that Artthapatti of the coins was not the successor but the predecessor of Bhavadattavarman.
8. *The Classical Age*, p. 25.

of dots and *kalaśa* symbols on Mahendrāditya's (supposed Kumāragupta's) coins might have been borrowed from his coins.[1]

In the time of Skandagupta, the weight of gold coins was increased. The standard weight of gold coinage, in the time of Kumāragupta I, was 126 grains,[2] while Skandagupta raised it to 144 grains.[3] But curiously enough the repousse coins of Mahendrāditya are heavier than those of Kramāditya. Weights of the coins of the former, range from 1.250 to 1.330 gms. whereas those of the latter vary from 1.300 to 1.330 gms. Hence also, Kramāditya and Skandagupta appear to be altogether distinct rulers.

Further, the coins of Skandagupta do not contain any additional letters, but those of Kramāditya, like of his predecessor Mahendraditya, do contain. Hence also Skandagupta cannot be identified with Kramāditya. As similar coins of the Naḷas and Prasannamātra also do not bear these additional letters it cannot be held that Skandagupta Kramāditya was following the local numismatic tradition of South Kosala in this connection.

However, Jain himself, finding difficulties in putting the South Kosala region in the Gupta empire, hesitates in attributing these coins to Gupta rulers with certainty.[4]

Some coins of both Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya contain three dots between the legs of the *Garuḍa*—a fact not noticed by Jain—and those of the former sometimes show only one dot in that position. The implications of this representation, if any, are not known.

The genetive suffix *sya* found only the coins of Kramāditya among all repousse issues is a very interesting point of study in this connection. This we feel was an attempt to improve the repousse coin legends of the Naḷas. But however, the introduction made by Kramāditya was not continued by his successor Mahendrāditya.

For the additional letters on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya, Balchandra Jain writes that they "may be numerals devoting the regnal years of the issue of the coins as there was a general custom prevailing in the South Kosala to

1. *Supra*, p. 33.
2. Allen, J., *BMC, GD*, 1914, p. CXXXIII
3. Ibid, pp. CXXXIII-CXXXIV.
4. Jain, *Op. cit.* p. 187.

date the events in the regnal years of the ruling king."[1] But was it the fact ? The Naḷas dated their copper plate inscriptions in the regnal years and not the coins. We do not find any additional letter on the coins of Naḷa kings and Prasannamātra[2] which can be taken for numeral. The solitary letters on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya are certainly mint marks.

Mahendrāditya of these coins as pointed out earlier is identical with the Mahendrāditya of *Kathāsaritsāgara.* He was followed by his son and successor Vikramāditya. As the hoard contains only the coins of Kramāditya and Mahendrāditya, we can say that Kramāditya was predecessor of Mahendrāditya.

1. Ibid, p. 187.
2. *Proc. of 5th Oriental Conference,* Lahore ; *IHQ*, IX and XV ; *JNSI*, XII, p. 8, plate I, Nos. 4-6 ; *ASI,AR,* 1926-27, p. 230 ; *JNSI*, XVI, pt. II, pp. 215-18, pl., IV, 1-12.

THE COINS OF HARSHA ŚĪLĀDITYA—A REAPPRAISAL

D. DEVAHUTI

Historians eagerly hoped to find the coins of Harsha, king of Sthāṇvīśvara and Kanauj, once the story of his great career had been rediscovered through the works of Bāṇa and Hsüan-tsang.

In his *Coins of Medieval India*, published in 1894, Cunningham illustrated a coin[1] showing, on the obverse, the figure of a horseman, with the legend *Harshadeva*, and, on the reverse, that of a goddess seated on a throne with a cornucopiae in her left hand, which he ascribed to king Harsha-deva of Kashmir, whose association with Kabul[2] induced him to imitate the money of the Śāhī rulers of that kingdom. Hoernle[3], who seems to have been unaware of this fact, doubted Cunningham's ascription, and suggested that the coin belonged to Harsha of Kanauj, who is also sometimes referred to as Harsha-deva. Moreover, he says that the emblem on the coin, of the horseman with the lance at rest "is the mark of the early Rajput", and "the chiefs of Thanesar were Rajputs". We do not agree with the latter statement ; Hsüan-tsang's testimony that Harsha was of the Vaiśya class is more reliable. Moreover, the identity of the Harsha-deva of the coin with the Harsha of Kashmir is too well attested by facts recorded by Kalhaṇa to admit of any doubt. Sir Richard Burn also observes that Dr. Hoernle's attribution of this coin to Harsha "does not seem quite satisfactory".[4]

In 1904 an earthen pot, containing one gold, 522 silver and eight copper coins was found in the village of Bhiṭaura, district Fyzabad (Avadh). In 1906 Sir Richard Burn wrote a paper on this find, entitled "Some coins of the Maukharis and of the Thanesar line,"[5] illustrating some specimens of the coins. 284 silver coins of this hoard bear the legend *Śrī Śaladata* (Srī Śīlāditya), while nine belong to *Śrī Pratapaśala* (Śrī Pratāpaśīla). Of the remaining pieces, thirty-two silver coins are of the Maukhari kings and one of a king named Harśa

1. *Coins of Medieval India*, Plate 5, No. 21, pp. 36-7 & 46.
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VII 956, 1550, 1571, 1579. Kalhaṇa informs us that Harsha's chief queen Vasanta-lekhā belonged to the Śāhī dynasty.
3. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 547. He seems to have noted the fact of Harsha-deva's connection with Karṇāṭa only.
4. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 847.
5. *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 843-850.

(not Harsha). Names of kings and in many cases dates also have disappeared from 192 coins. The gold coin is of the later Indo-Scythian type, the copper coins are of Pratāpāditya II of Kashmir, and of the four remaining silver coins, three are *Varāha drammas* and one is of uncertain type.

The 518 silver coins are of the Gupta silver type ; that is, they bear a large head with a date on one side, and a peacock on the other, with a long inscription. On seven coins the head faces the right, as on the Gupta coins, while on the others, which include all the coins of Śīlāditya and Pratāpa-śīla, it faces the left. The inscriptions round the peacock in every case but one read *Vijitāvaniravanipati-śrī*-(name)-*devo jayati*. The vowels are only marked in a few types.

We concur with Burn that "it ... seems reasonable to identify Pratāpa-śīla (of the coins) with Prabhākara-vardhana, and Śīlāditya with Harṣa".[1] Burn, however, does not argue a case for this identification, and the ascription has been accepted only half-heartedly by scholars, who have probed into the question no further than to quote the authority of Burn.[2] We, on our part, believe that Burn's ascription, though not backed by lengthy or reasoned argument, is correct, and is supported by the following facts.

The Chinese sources inform us that Harsha adopted the title Sīlāditya on his accession to the throne of Kanauj. Though the indigenous sources do not mention Harsha as Śīlāditya they honour Prabhākara-vardhana with the *biruda* Pratāpa-śīla, which inclines us to treat the Chinese evidence regarding Harsha's title as perfectly authentic. Harsha records his father's *biruda* in his inscriptions and it seems reasonable to expect that he used his own also for official purposes. He may well have issued his coins in the name Śīlāditya, especially if his father also used his own *biruda* for marking his coinage, which we believe he did, as we agree with Burn that the Pratāpa-śīla coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard are to be attributed to Prabhākara-vardhana.

The two dated coins of Pratāpa-śīla raise certain problems. Each date consists of three symbols. The topmost is the letter *sa*, and one would ordinarily expect this to represent the hundreds, as the other symbols are apparently 10 and 1 or 11. The only symbol for a number which resembles *sa* is, how-

1. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 847.
2. e. g. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* (1937), p. 117, writes : "If the Śīlāditya coins found in the Bhiṭaura hoard......are to be attributed to Harṣa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn,......".

ever, that used for 40, but no symbol for hundreds, resembling this letter is to be found. The coins of Śīlāditya show clearly that the *sa* cannot be 40. Therefore, it seems *sa* stands for *saṁvat*. The *sa* on Śīlāditya's coins, which invariably appears as the highest symbol, is also to be taken for *saṁvat*. The regnal years on Harsha's inscriptions which we know to be dated in the Harsha era are also preceded by the word *saṁvat*, which no doubt stands for the Harsha *saṁvat*. The point cannot therefore be raised that the *sa*, representating *saṁvat* on the Śilāditya coins, stands for a long established era, such as the Vikrama or the Gupta, which need not have been referred to by its full name. We believe that as well as in his inscriptions Harsha used *saṁvat*, for his own era on the coins abbreviating the word owing to their small size.

The figure eleven on Pratāpa-śīla's coins and the dates ranging from one to 33 on those of Śīlāditya, indicate that the two monarchs used different eras. It may well be that Prabhākara-vardhana, who was the first king of his family to attain the status of *Mahārājādhirāja*, may have celebrated his attainment by starting an era, a practice which was very much in fashion in those days. Harsha founded yet another era in A. D. 606, probably to commemorate his success in securing the throne of Kanauj, and seems to have issued his first coins under the newly acquired title Śīlāditya.[1] The date 11 on Pratāpaśīla's coins is quite in keeping with the length of Prabhākara-vardhana's reign, which started in c. A.D. 580 and terminated in A.D. 606. New coins may have been issued by Prabhākaravardhana to celebrate the birth of the royal Prince Harsha in A. D. 590, when he had been on the throne for nearly a decade. It is well-known that coins were generously distributed among the populace on festive occasions. The date 33 on Śīlāditya's coins is compatible with the duration of Harsha's reign, which we believe lasted for about forty years from A. D. 606 to A.D. 646-647.

From a comparison of the coins of the Maukharis and those of Śīlāditya and Pratāpa-śīla, it is clear that though the general appearance of the Gupta type coins was retained by the two dynasties, the established tradition of a continuous dating was repeatedly flouted.

The findspot of the hoard containing so many coins of Śīlāditya, and the fact that Pratāpa-śīla's and Śīlāditya's coins have been found together, also favours the identification of these two kings with Prabhākara-vardhana, and Harsha. Though

1. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 213.

several Śīlādityas ruled from Valabhi in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, the coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard may be most ascribed to Harsha Śīlāditya of Kanauj.

It will be well to examine here the arguments put forward by Hoernle[1] in repudiation of Burn's ascription.

The German scholar states that before attributing the Śīlāditya coins to Harsha, it must be proved that he had assumed that title officially. He argues that as neither Bāṇa nor other Indian sources mention this *biruda* of Harsha, and as Hsüan-tsang is our sole authority on this point, it appears that Harsha was known by this title only in "Buddhist monkish communities"

One may comment in passing that if, as Hoernle believes, Harsha was popularly known by this *biruda* amongst Buddhist communities only, the chances are greatly reduced of finding a reference to this *biruda* by Bāṇa, who was a Brahman. However, Hoernle's argument is better refuted by the fact that Harsha is referred to as Śīlāditya not only by the Buddhist monk who was a pious pilgrim, but also by the diplomatic envoys who had been deputed by the Chinese emperor to carry out official business. They, at least, may not be expected to have obtained their information only from the "Buddhist monkish communities". We believe that the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard are the available indigenous evidence of the official use of the title Śīlāditya by Harsha, who seems to have followed his father's tradition in issuing his coinage under a *biruda*.

Hoernle attributes the coins of Pratāpa-śīla and Śīlāditya to a king possessing both these names, known to us from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*.[2] Speaking of Pravarasena, Kalhaṇa says that "he replaced Pratāpa-śīla, olso called Śīlāditya, the son of Vikramāditya, who had been dethroned by enemies in the kingdom of his father". This Vikramāditya is identified with Yaśodharman of Mālava, who is credited in the Mandasor inscription[3] with extensive conquests as far as the Himālayas, and Śīlāditya with his son of the same name.[4]

Hoernle writes that "the discovery of coins in the names of Pratāpa-śīla and Śīlāditya is a striking confirmation of the truth of the old Indian tradition". According to his reckoning, Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya's rule lasted "from about 580 to 608, or

1. *JRAS*, 1909, p. 446 ff.
2. Book III verse 330.
3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 33.
4. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 545 ff.

612, that is from the death of Vikramāditya (Yaśodharman) to the great victory, or to the coronation of Harshavardhana. 'This gives us a period from 26 to 32 years".[1] But we know that Burn reads the latest date on Śīlāditya's coins as 33. There are 30 coins with this date. On 14 more coins the symbol for 30 is fairly certain, but the unit is gone or very doubtful in every case. These coins may be of the year 32, but they may well have been of the years after 33. In any case, as the longest duration ascribed to Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya by Hoernle is 32 years, the Śīlāditya coins issued at least until the year 32 cannot be ascribed to the Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya of Hoernle's identification Moreover, there is little likelihood that a king named Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya should have chosen his latter name for use on a large number of coins for most of his regnal years but should have suddenly reverted to the former name for the coins issued in his eleventh year. This, is, not a conclusive argument, because we are making this suggestion only on the basis of the coins so far discovered.

But Hoernle is not in the least disturbed by the fact of this discrepancy in the dates he ascribes to Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya and those yielded by the coins of Śīlāditya. He writes that it "creates no difficulty, for the exact length of the period is, of course, uncertain." About the date 33, considered to be quite certain by Burn, he remarks that one has to be very cautious about the indifferently preserved figures.

Hoernle puts forth the third and the last argument in favour of his theory as the "possible connection of the still unexplained 'aulikara' crest of Yaśodharman with the curious cresent-like object on the head of the king on those coins". It seems to have escaped Hoernle's notice that the crescent appears on both the Maukhari and the Śīlāditya coins. It appears on the Gupta coins also, accompanied by other marks.[2] Apparently both the Maukharis and the Vardhanas retained this symbol, which was one of the minor features of the Gupta type coin they copied. Neither the Maukharis nor the Vardhanas were Chandra-vaṁśī kings. The Maukharis are specifically stated to have been the descendants of the 100 sons of Aśva-pati, who was blessed with such abundant progeny by

1. Hoernle's identification of Pratāpaśīla-Śīlāditya as the son of Yaśodharman is, incidentally, almost impossible if Kalhaṇa's chronology is followed. Yaśodharman was evidently at the height of his power in A. D. 532 (*CII*, III, p. 154), and it is most unlikely that he could have survived until A. D. 580.

2. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the British Museum, Gupta Dynasties and Śaśāṅka* (1936), p. 89 ff. (Kūmāra-gupta I's coins) p. 119 ff. (Skanda-gupta's coins).

Manu Vaivasvata.[1] The Maukharis thus were Sūrya-vaṁśīs. The Vardhanas belonged to neither of the two traditional royal families.

Hoernle's arguments thus prove too weak to refute the ascription of the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard to Harsha.

It will be well to end the discussion of this question with a brief description of the coins of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya.[2]

Pratāpaśīla : The peacock's head is to the left on all nine coins. The crescent on the king's head is about the centre of the top (instead of at the crown as it is usually in the Maukhari coins), and each horn terminates in a knob. We have earlier referred to the reading of the dates and the fact that the vowels are omitted in spelling his name.

Śīlāditya : The name is usually written *Śrīśaladata*, vowels being very rarely given. On a few coins the final letters are more clearly *-tya.* The crescent on the head has also various forms and positions. The dates on many of the coins are varied and present considerable difficulty, as the symbols differ from the ordinary forms. Burn, however, is positive in his reading of the sign *sa* as the highest symbol and the symbols 30 + 1 and 30 + 3. On the basis of their dates and number, the coins may be classified as follows[3] :

	Date		*Number of Coins*
(1)	1	(?)	1
(2)	6	(?)	10
(3)	10	(?)	10
(4)	20	(?)	6
(5)	25	(?)	1
(6)	30	(?)	4
(7)	31	(?)	3
(8)	31		24
(9)	33		30
(10)	3		14
			103
(11)	Illegible dates		181
		Total	284

1. The Harahā inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV p. 110 ff.
2. For a full description see Burn, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 745-7 on which we base this brief account giving the salient points of the coins.
3. Most dates are accompanied by a query mark, as Burn finds the readings doubtful.

Six coins of Śīlāditya are preserved at the British Museum, of which three were presentsd to it in 1906 by the Government of the Central Provinces, India. The remaining three were given it by Nelson Wright, one in 1910 and two in 1129. The dates are clearly read *Sa* (*Saṁvat*) on two coins[1] and the tens figure 3 is clear on a third one.[2] Thus, the readings on these coins are in accordance with Burn's observations on the coins of Śīlāditya.

We have not been able to find out whether the then C. P. Government came in possession of the coins as the result of a local discovery, or whether it was given a share of the large Bhiṭura hoard, of which a portion was presented by it to the British Museum. The most regrettable practice of distribution without labelling was quite common in those days. However, if the coins presented by the C. P. Government belong to that province, they are a secondary evidence of the extension of Harsha's empire in that region. The importance of this possibility should not be exaggerated, however firstly because we are not sure of the findspot of the coins in question and, secondly, because coins are the most easily portable objects.

1. One from the 1906 group and the other of 1910.
2. One of the two coins presented in 1929. The dates on the remaining three coins are very doubtful or illegible.

NUMISMATIC GLEANINGS FROM *MAÑJUŚRĪ MŪLAKALPA*

A. B. L. AWASTHI

India in the past had her vast and varied field of coinage current in this sub-continent. Their names and forms as well as antiquity have been enveloped in the mist caused by the abrupt convulsions in her body-politic. Literature, itself vast and varied, does throw important light on many obscure shades of ancient Indian numismatics.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a well-known Buddhist text, displays its knowledge of various denominations of ancient Indian coinage. It refers to *Suvarṇa*,[1] *Dināra*,[2] *Purāṇa*,[3] *Kārshāpaṇa*,[4] *Paṇa*,[5] *Māshaka*[6] and *Rūpaka*.[7] *Nishka*[8] is mentioned, but once and it is not certain, if it is a coin. *Suvarṇa*[9] too is mentioned to denote a lump of gold and so also is *Hiraṇya*[10] used in the same sense. Thus it is apparent, that the terms viz., *Nishka*, *Suvarṇa* and *Hiraṇya*, were also in use denoting gold, other than the standard gold coins of the past.

Pala (*Suvarṇa-pala*),[11] *Mātrā*[12] and *Karsha*[13] denoted the units of weights prevalent even in the early medieval India. According to Manu, a *Pala* is equated to four *Suvarṇas* (*palam suvarṇa-śchatvārah*).[14] *Kārshāpaṇa*, one of the most popular coins of ancient India, derived its name from the unit called *Karsha* (*tāmrikaḥ kārshikaḥ paṇaḥ*).[15] These were the well-known names in the past (*yāḥsaṁjñāḥ prathitaḥ bhuvi*).[16]

1. *Mañjuśīmūlakalba*, (hereafter abbreviated as *MMK*), pp. 568, 570, 571, 671, 672, 675, 678, 683, 684, 702, 716, 718.
2. Ibid, pp. 67, 314, 316, 569, 573, 574, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 684, 685.
   Ibid, pp. 688, 689, 692, 694, 706, 707, 708, 710, 711, 712, 718.
3. Ibid, pp. 677, 688.
4. Ibid, pp. 672, 697, 708.
5. Ibid, p. 679.
6. Ibid, p. 672 : *Daśamāshakaṁ labhate.*
7. Ibid, pp. 673, 677, 678, 679, 688, 706, 718.
8. Ibid, p. 370.
9. Ibid, p. 688.
10. Ibid, p. 712.
11. Ibid, p. 698 : *Suvarṇa pala śatam labhate.*
12. Ibid, p. 57.
13. Ibid, p. 57 : *Shoḍaśa mātraṁ palaṁ vā karshaṃ vā......*
14. *Manu*, VIII. 135.
15. Ibid, VIII. 136.
16. Ibid, VIII. 131.

The name of a coin given as *Daśamāśaka*[1] deserves some attention. Evidently this coin conveyed the value of 10 *māshakas*. Most probably it denoted *Ardha-kārshāpaṇa*, where *Kārshāpaṇa* was equal to 20 *māshakas*. From *Vinayapiṭaka* we know that such *Kārshāpaṇa* was current in the early Buddhist period. There are references to half *Kārshāpaṇa*, quarter *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Māśaka*[2] which seems to be the lowest unit equal to one-twentieth part of a *kahāpaṇa*. Even in the age of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, a *Kārshāpaṇa* comprising 4 *Pādas* was a popular coin.[3] *Vinayapiṭaka* refers repeatedly to a variety of coin called *Pañchamāśakaṁ*[4] which was styled *Pāda* (*Pañchamāsako pādo*)[5] and it was current in Rājagṛiha as well as in the neighbouring region.[6] Thus, evidently *Daśamāshaka* or 2 *Pādas* denoted *Aḍḍhaṁ Kahāpaṇaṁ* (*Ardham Kārshāpaṇam*) of *Vinayapiṭaka*. Śankara's reference to *Kārshāpaṇa Chatushpāt* lends support to our contention that in the age of Śankara or that of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* i. e. early medieval India, *Daśamāshaka* was current in the country, particularly in eastern India.

A large number of references to these various coins, which one expected to get after the successful performance of the rites, shows the prevalence as well as popularity of these coins in that age. We are further told that a pair of clothes—suit—could be purchased for 5 *Dīnāras*. Thus the gold coin *Dīnāra* was current in the markets, particularly for buying valuable articles like fine clothes etc. The literary works and inscriptions of the early medieval India also refer to the circulation of *Dīnāras*.[7]

Another important and interesting point worth careful notice is the nomenclature of *Rūpakas* as coins. The term 'Punch-marked coins' applied to our oldest currency is a modern nomenclature coined by the modern numismatistis. It is quite natural to seek its ancient name and form. The scholars think

1. *MMK*, p. 672; Rājaśekhara also, in his *Karpūramañjarī* (Chaukhamba Edn. 1955), refers to *Daśamāsa* (=*Daśamāsha*), (p. 118, III, *Javanika*) and *Dasamasiena* (=*Daśamāshikena*) =*Dasamāśika* (p. 121, III, *Javanika*).
2. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Chullavaggapāli (Ed. Bhikshu J. Kashyapa, 1956, Nalanda), p. 416 : *kahāpaṇaṁ pi aḍḍhaṁ pi pādaṁ pi māsaka rūpaṁpi.*
3. While commenting on *So'yamatmā Chatushpāt* (*Māṇḍūkyopanishad*, verse 2, p. 26) Śankara explains : *So'ayaṁ atmonkārābhidheyaḥ...... Vyavasthitaśchatushpāt kārshāpaṇa vat........*" (*Māṇḍūkyopanishad*, Gita Press Edn., VS. 2009, p. 27).
4. *Parivārapālī* p. 55, lines 12, 13, 14. Ibid, p. 88, lines 6, 7, 8.
5. *Vinayapitaka*, Pārājika Pālī, p. 55, lines 13-14.
6. Ibid, p. 55. 13-14 ; *tena kho pana samayena Rājagahe pañchamāsako pādo hoti.*
7. *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 1, 14-15.

that *Āhata* was such a name applied to ancient *Kārashāpaṇas* because various symbols were impressed on them. V. S. Agrawala suggests *Rūpya* as a suitable name for this type of ancient Indian coinage. He holds that the word *rūpa* in *Rūpa-darśaka* and *Rūpatarka* denotes a coin as is also supported by *Mahāpiśuna-jātaka* (1/374).[1] The inscriptions of Gupta and post-Gupta periods show that *Dīnāras* as well as *Rūpakas* were then current in the country.[2] Mirashi holds : "The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as Harish Chandrīyas seem to have used *Rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja, who flourished more than a century before".[3] He adds : "As stated before, the coins of Krishṇarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Mahārāshṭra in the south, and from Koṅkana in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after Krishṇarāja ; .... The silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight standard as the coins of Krishṇarāja were called *Kārshāpaṇas*. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *Rūpaka*. The Añjaneri Plates show that the coins of Krishṇarāja were called *Krishṇarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *Rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.[4] Thus the antiquity and a long circulation of the *Rūpakas* as a particular variety of ancient coinage is well established. *Prithvīrājavijaya* refers to *Rūpakas* as the coins of Ajayarāja called *Ajaya-priya Rūpakas*[5] like *Krishṇaraja-rūpakas* mentioned above. Jonarāja, the commentator, calls the *Rūpakas* as *Dīnāraviśeshas* without giving their specific characteristics, though the text itself mentions these special features in the preceding verse.[6] While giving an account of wealth (*Śrī*', *PV*, V. 87) it observes :

As durvarṇamayair bhūmiṁ rūpakaiḥ paryapūrayat,
taṁ suvarṇamayaistatra kavivargastava pūrayat |
Prithvīrājavijaya, V. 88."

Here the words *varṇa*, *bhūmi*, and *rūpaka* convey meanings more than one. Jonarāja takes *varṇa* and *rūpaka* respectively in the sense of letter (*akshara*) and drama (*nāṭaka*) and that is true in the context of Kavi-varga. Dasharatha Sharma observes :

1. *Pāṇini-kālīna Bhāratavarsha*, p. 266.
2. Sircar, *Select Ins.*, p. 343, Baigram Inscr. of G. E. 128, line 6 ; *CII*, IV, pp. 151-153 ; Anjaneri Plates (First Set) of Bhogasakla (year 461), lines 36, 37, 38, 60 ; Ibid, pp. 158-159 (Second Set), lines 34, 35, 36 ; *JNSI*, XXV, pt. I, pp. 12-13.
3. *CII*, IV, pp. CLXX iii, foot note 8.
4. Ibid, pp., CLXXXII.
5. *Prithvīrāja Vijaya* (Ajmer 1941 A.D.), V. 89.
6. Ibid, V. 88.

"He filled, states the *PV*, the earth with silver *rūpakas* (rupees) and the poets filled it instead with *rūpakas* (dramas) bearing golden letters. He wrested the fame of present rulers by means of soldiers eager for victory (*jayapriya*) and of those already past or to come with his Ajayapriya coins. His beloved queen Somalekhā too had not her hands sullied because she had new coins issued daily," (canto V, verses 87-89).[1] Here Sharma follows Jonarāja. But *rūpa* is used, elsewhere, in *Prithvīrājavijaya* in the sense of money and form (*PV*, 136, 141, 146 ; XI. 22). Kauṭilya refers to silver coins (*rūpyarūpa*) and copper-coins (*tāmrarūpa*).[2] According to Kauṭilya, the Superintendent of salt was directed to realise not only the value of salt, "but also the premium of five percent (*vyajim*), both in cash (*rūpa*).[3] Shamasastry observes : "The word *rūpa* is ambiguous ; whether it means *parikshika*, the testing charge......or whether it means cash, is not possible to determine. It has, however, been taken here in its sense cash".[4]

As pointed out above, *Prithvīrājavijaya* also uses the word in the sense of money :

Yuvabhir-jīryamāno pi rūpeṇa labhate balam.[5]

The poet asserts that the lost strength and youth could be regained with the help of money.[6] The poet further asserts that the kings' fame in all the three worlds is only based on wealth (*eka rūpa samāśrita*).[7] Thus the poet upholds the supremacy of wealth or money (*rūpamayattata*).[8] But as it has been pointed out above that *śliṣhṭ* use of *rūpa*—double entende—is to be always met in this *Kāvya*. We find in the verse V. 146 of *Prithvīrājavijaya* that *rūpa* is used separately in the sense of money as well as form :

Yauvanena vapuḥ strīṇām yatra rūpeṇa yauvanaṁ,
rūpam kānti viśesheṇa salavanyena garjati.

It is an apt use of the word. *Rūpa*, derived from the verbal root *rūpa* meaning to form (*rūpakriyāyāṁ*), also represents

1. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 41, note 55. Here it may be pointed that Ajmer (1948) Edn. of *PV*, refers to Somalekhās *nava rūpakas* in V. 90.
2. Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore 1951) pp. 86-87.
3. Ibid, p. 87.
4. Ibid, p. 87, footnote 9.
5. *PV*, V. 136. Here the text is defective and we would mend it as "*Yuvabhir-jīryamāno pi*, instead of '*yuvabhi jīryamāno pi*'.
6. Ibid, V. 146.
7. Ibid, V. 141 ; here the poet gives an account of kings public works viz. *vāpī*, *kūpa* and *taḍāga* etc. which proclaim his fame in all the regions, (*PV*, V. 140).
8. Ibid, XI. 22 ; cf. *Śantiparva*, Chaps. 11 & 12.

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form and symbol. Hence *Rūpaka* is a coin bearing figure, form or symbol ; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (VI. 1). of Viśvanātha aptly explains *Rūpāka* (here, meaning a drama) as *tadrūpa ropattu rūpakam*, i. e. *Svarūpa ropadrupakamityuchyate*.

Thus *Rūpaka* as a coin definitely denoted what the modern numismatists call Punch-marked coins. *Pṛithivīrāja-vijaya* in the much quoted verse (V. 88) distinguishes the two varieties of *Rūpakas* viz., silver *rūpakas* (*durvarṇa-rūpakas*) and Gold *rūpakas* (*Suvarṇa-rupakas*). The words *durvarṇa* and *suvarṇa* respectively refer to a crude and fine portrayal in forms. Similarly the term *nava rūpakas* of Somalekhā, issued daily (*PV*, V. 30), points to the circulation of new varieties of *Rūpakas*, which bore different forms portrayed on them (*chitrastham*, or *likhitam*, *PV*, XI. 22). *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* tends to show that there was some testing agency (*pūrīkshā pūrvakari*) for *rūpasyottamaṁ* (*PV*, XI. 19), as we know from Kauṭilya that there was an examiner of coins (*rūpa-darśaka*) and so was a *Lakshaṇādhyahsha*.[1] Buddhaghosha also refers to *Lakshaṇas* or symbols as well as *Rūpa-sūtra*, a treatise dealing with the *rūpa* or symbols. Thus *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* and *Rūpadarśakas* of Kauṭilya were to see the proper representation of the *rūpas* on the State coinage.

Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa, itself, uses the word *rūpa*[2] in the sense of form, figure and symbols portrayed by a painter depicting all features (*lakshaṇa samanva gatena chitrakāreṇa*).[3] But the study and interpretation of these various *rūpas* found on the *Rūpakas* is a mystery to-day. In the past, their true nature and significance could be ascertained with the help of the *śāstras* (*jñeyaṁ śāstratotattvaṁ*)[4] as well as with the help of various *linga-vidhānas*.[5] Thus it is evident that even in the age of *Mañjuśri-mūlakalpa* there was some numismatic treatise dealing with these symbols. As such, *Rūpasutta*, a text alluded to by Buddhaghosha dealing with various (*chitta-vichitta*) *lakshaṇas*, or some such works were available then.

Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa also throws much light on symbolism in ancient India. It refers to both, auspicious and inauspicious, as well as mild and violent symbols.[6] These are probably *divya-pushpa* (divine flower, probably lotus), *dhvaja*

1. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 86-87,
2. *MMK*, p. 39 ; *rūpam Chitrakāraiścha pūrayitavyaṁ* cf. *PV*, V, 88, *MMK*, p. 39, uses the words *akārayet*, *likhet* and *Śuklapītaraktakṛishṇa-harito varṇair) Varṇayet*. It is in the sense of colours that *PV*, V. 88, uses the word *Varṇamayai*.
3. Ibid, p. 61.
4. Ibid, p. 250.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, pp. 4, 250.

(flag), *patākā* (flag-staff), *mālā* (garland), *kula-ratna* (principal *ratnas*, seven *ratnas* are regarded as the representativs of imperial splendour and status), *tri-ratna* (Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha), *pañcharatna* (a collection of 5 gems). This Buddhist text refers to many symbols associated with Buddha (*āryānaṁ yāni chinhāni*)[1] or *tathāgata chinha.*[2] There are also mentioned some auspicious birds of land and water as well as the middle region (sky) viz., *mayūra* (peacock), *krauñcha, haṃsa* (goose), and *chakravāka*, etc.[3] Similarly trees, particularly *Bodhivṛiksha*, was also a sacred symbol.[4] The well dressed and decorated women were also regarded as auspicious.[5] Many lines and *mudrās* were objects of portrayal.[6] Thus we see that these various symbols—*rūpas, ākārās, chinhas* or *liṅgas*—marked on the coins or in the sculpture and painting played a very important role in the history and culture of ancient India. They were meant to convey different ideas and episodes to the mind and heart of the people. The depiction of *divyāni rūpāni*—divine forms and symbols—was a tradition of long standing in ancient Indian mint-masters. *Rūpaka*, thus, is an appropriate as well as ancient term for the old Indian money.

1. Ibid, p. 238.
2. Ibid, p. 10.
3. Ibid, p. 56.
4. Ibid, pp. 118, 119.
5. Ibid, p. 128.
6. Ibid, p. 138.

BILINGUAL COINS OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

A. K. BHATTACHARYYA

The National Museum of India has in its collections a few coins of Mahmud of Ghazni. These coins are struck on the model of Ghaznavide kings and are calld *Dirham* on the coins themselves. They bear Arabic and Sanskrit legends on obverse and reverse respectively, showing a number of varieties in the legends, the dates and the lettering and its arrangements. Considering the varieties in the Sanskrit legend and the dates, on the reverse, they fall mainly into two classes. The British Museum collection of these coins as catalogued by S. Lane-Poole[1] affords examples of both these varieties (Nos. 505-509 in one group and Nos. 510-514 in the other).

A specimen of the first variety was acquired for the collection of the Indian Museum in 1929, wherein the Sanskrit legends were read as follows :[2]

Rev. area : *avyaktam = eka (ṁ)*
Muhammad (a)
vatāra nṛipa
ti Mahamuda

margin : *(avyaktīya) nāme ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ*
hata mahamudapure saṁvati 418

The Arabic legend on the obverse can be read as follows :

Obv. area :
القادر
لا اله الا الله . ب
محمد رسول الله
نظام الدين
ابو القسم

margin :
بسم الله ضرب (?) هذ الدرهم بمحمودپور سنة ثمان عشرة و اربعماية

Commenting on this coin, the Late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit read[3] the marginal legend on the reverse in Sanskrit

1. S. Lane-Poole : *The Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties in the British Museum,* Classes III-X, London, 1876, pp. 149-51.
2. *ASI, AR,* 1929-30, p. 198.
3. *JRASB,* II, 1936, No. 3, Num. Suppl., p. 29N.

as *Avyaktīya* (—) *nāme hato*—struck in the name of God, being a translation in Sanskrit of بسم الله ضرب . The improved reading of the Rao Bahadur here as also for the next word as : *Mahamūdapure* can be accepted as correct.

So far as the Arabic legend on the obverse is concerned, it conforms to the reading on the first variety, e.g. No. 505, of the British Museum with this difference that there is a *ḍamma* above as in No. 507 of that group.

A specimen of the second type which came to me for examination recently has the obverse area as in No. 506 of the British Museum Catalogue. The obverse margin reads :

[بسم الله] هذ الدرهم [بمحمودپور] سنة تسع عشرة و اربعماية

This marginal legend is practically a mixture of the marginal legends of Nos. 505 and 510 with the notable omission of the word ضرب after the expression بسم الله with the date 419 A. H.

The reverse of this coin supplies us with the most interesting part of the marginal legend in Sanskrit which remains so far not fully explained. The British Museum coin No. 510[1] to which this specimen mostly conforms as to its type, has the legend (as read by Lane-Poole) :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapura ghaṭe tatā Jikīyera samvatī 419.

Rao Bahadur Dikshit[2] gave his suggested reading of the above thus :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapuraghaṭe hata(o) Jināyana samvatī 419.

Although the reading of the word '*hato*' above gives a sensible meaning, viz., that of 'striking (coin)', the suggestion is not warranted by the actual letters readable on the coins. Further, to read the era (*Samvat*) as *Jināyana* (lit. movement of the Jina) to indicate the era of the Flight of the Prophet, i. e. the Hijra era, is indeed going too far. Jina (lit. a Conqueror) stands for the Conqueror (of the eight-fold *Karmans*) in Jainism where the word is accepted as denoting the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. In fact, Al-Biruni uses the term to denote the Buddha. Although the fourth letter of this word is to be read as *na* (न), the knowledge of Sanskrit that was made use of in the Sanskritization of the Arabic legends would hardly have tolerated such a suggestion. In fact, in the legend in the area on these coins the term used for the Prophet of Islam is '*avatāra*'.

1. S. Lane-Poole, op. cit., loc. cit.
2. *JRASB*, II, 1936, loc. cit.

On the other hand, the legend clearly read *ṭi* (टि) after *gha* (घ) while the preceding letter is definitely *re* (रे) and not *ra* (र), so that the legend in these portions must be read :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(ḥ) Mahamūdapure ghaṭita(ḥ)

Now the word *ghaṭitaḥ* (lit. effected or fashioned) as used here must have the same meaning as *hataḥ* in the other variety, i. e. in the sense of being 'struck' or 'minted'. The use of the term *ghaṭitaḥ* in this sense of 'striking' or 'incising' is vouched for from very early times in Indian epigraphic and other records. The 14th Rock Edict of Aśoka has this use of the word as early as the 3rd century B. C.[1] The first to read this part of the legend correctly was V. S. Agrawala, whose reading was published[2] as far back as 1943.

Lane-Poole's reading *jikīyera* (जिकीयेर) is meaningless and the fourth letter here is definitely *na* (न) and not *ra* (र), so that the remaining portion seems to read :

Tājikīyena saṁvatī(ti) 419

The use of the word *Tājikīya* as the name of the era referred to is singularly appropriate. There is no doubt that the era referred to here is the Hijra era of which the year 419 is the date of the issue of these coins, both according to the Arabic legend on the obverse and the Sanskrit on the reverse. Now, the word *Tāzīk* (تازيك) from *Tāzī* (تازي) meaning Arabic, denotes[3] 'one of Arab blood, born and brought up in Persia'. This word in India came to signify at a still later age the Arabic science of astrology. This is most probably due to the fact that the science of astrology as also astronomy was one of those subjects in which the early Muhammadan scholars who visited India showed keen interest so much so that after the lapse of several centuries works on these subjects translated originally from Sanskrit into Arabic had to be re-translated from Arabic into Sanskrit, the originals having been lost, and the science itself, because of the above fact, came to be called *Tājika* (ताजिक). We have a tradition in Sanskrit works on the science that Tājika is the science of astrology as transmitted to the Yavanas from the Sun (cf. *Sūrya-Siddhānta*) who got it from Brahman Himself :[4]

1. Inscriptions of Aśoka, 14th R. E. cf. *Na cha sarvata ghaṭitam* (Girnar) (p. 57 of Bhandarkar's edition).
2. *JNSI*, V, pt. II, pp. 155 f.
3. Steingass : *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 275 ;
4. *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* by Nīlakaṇṭha, published by M. Khelari and Sons, Benares, p. 1.

ब्रह्मणा भानवे प्रोक्तं भानुना यवनाय तत् ।
यवने न तु यत् प्रोक्तं ताजिकं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥

A book on astrology entitled *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* composed by Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Ananta, in Śaka 1509[1] is so called because of the fact that the author, Nīlakaṇṭha, bases his work on the previous text of the Arabs indicated by the word *Tājika*. The use of the term ताजिकीय[2], particularly, to denote the Arabian era is most probably to be explained by the fact that the Sanskrit scholar in the following of Mahmud, Al-Biruni, whose deep knowledge of the Indian language was being utilized at every such step, was one whose greatest interest lay in astrology and astronomy. He knew certainly the word *Tājika* as being used for the science of astrology received from the Arabs. From the science it denoted to the Sanskritists of the land, the people, from amongst whom the early visitors to this country took the greatest interest in it. Thus both from the Arabic meaning of the word and from the Sanskritic use of it in the sense of the Arabic science of astrology, the contemporary people of the land must have liked to have anything pertaining to these foreigners called by the term *Tājikīya* (ताजिकीय). And Al-Biruni's suggestion for rendering the Hijra era by *Tājikīya samvat* is therefore as natural as his rendering of Allah by *Avyakta*. These two are not simply coincidental but are to be explained by the fact that while he knew the term *Avyakta* from his study of the Sāṁkhya system as denoting Attributeless or Unmanifested (which description most suited the conception of Allah as a singular and unmanifested or formless entity), he also knew that the term *Tājika* was being used by the Indian scholars in astrology to designate the latter science as based on Arabic sources.

The letter at the end of the word (ताजिकीयेर) is clearly readable in the present specimen as (न) instead of (र) as read by previous scholars.[3] I would therefore suggest the corrected reading of the legend in the margin on the reverse of this type of bilingual coins of Mahmud of Ghazni as follows :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(ḥ) Mahamūdapure ghaṭita(ḥ) Tājikīyena samvatī(ti) 419

'This *ṭaṁka* was struck at Mahmudpur in the Tājikīya era 419.'

1. Ibid., published in the Haridas Sanskrita Granthamala, Benares, No. 143, p. 5, Intro.
2. For certain more occurrences of the term ताजिक or तजक as connoting an Arab,, see V. S. Agrawala, loc. cit.
3. See V. S. Agrawala, loc. cit.

SOME NOTABLE MUGHAL COINS

C. R. SINGHAL

1.

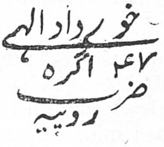
An Important Rupee of Akbar of Agra Mint.

At No. 683 of the *Catalogue of the Mohammadan Coins in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (England), a Jalāla type silver coin of Akbar of Agra mint and dated 47—Khurdad Ilahi is described. Due to its importance, the same coin was also noticed and illustrated by Whitehead at p. 431 of his *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Panjab Museum.* The most important feature of this coin is the word روپیه inscribed below ضرب on the reverse. We are not aware of any silver coin in the entire Muslim series on which such a word occurs. The Lucknow Museum may also be considered lucky in receiving another specimen of the same type as treasure trove from the Agra district. The stamping of this word on these two silver coins of Akbar goes to prove that all silver coins issued by him and his successors were called 'Rupiya'. Strange to say that this denomination has continued even till today. The coin is described as under :—

Round ; Weight 173 grs. ; Mint Agra ; Date 47-Khurdad Ilahi.

Obv.
In ornamental border

Rev.
In ornamental border



2.

Two Rare Falus of Akbar.

Following important coins have been discovered from a T. T. hoard of 1774 copper coins found in the Kanpur district in the year 1956.

(a) Mint Salīmābād. Date 1009 H.

Obv.

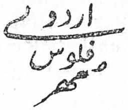
Rev.

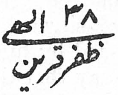
Mint mark at (a)

There are seven coins of this variety in the hoard. Uptil now only one coin of this type, but dated 1000 H., was found by Whitehead and the same was described by him at p. 224 of *N. S.*, XIII. About this mint, Whitehead, at p. XXIX of his *Catalogue,* says "The representative of the Chishtīs in the earlier years of Akbar's reign was Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, from whom Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr, took his name. Prince Salīm was born in 977, and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī died in 979. In 1007 a *dām* was issued of the normal Ajmer type, but on which the name Ajmer is replaced by the new honorific title of Salīmābād.

(b) Mint Urdu-Zafar Qarin, Date 38 Ilahi

Obv. In a dotted circle **Rev.** In a dotted circle





The coins of this type are included in almost all the catalogues of Mughal coins. On all of them, the legend on the obverse is read as ضرب فلوس اردوی, but on this specimen, it is inscribed as مهر فلوس اردوی . It is the only novel feature of this coin. This word *muhar* written in this manner مُهر is also found on the copper *dams* of Akbar issued from the Allahabad mint. Except Lane Poole and Nelson Wright (No. 367), every body has deciphered it as ضرب . On p. XCIII of *B.M.C. of Mughal Coins,* Lane Poole says, "The *mohar* of Ilāhābās (315 grs.) is also clearly a dām and the word *mohar* is probably used, not as a denomination, but merely as meaning "stamp". In the collection of the Lucknow Museum, there are many specimens on which the word مُهر can clearly be read. On some specimens, the diacritical mark of (ُ) (Pesh) above this word can be easily noticed which goes to prove that this word is definitely مُهر and not ضرب as stated by some authors.

3.

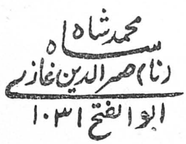
Some Important Coins of the Mughal Period

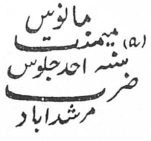
In November 1963, I had a chance to see the collection of Shri S. M. Shukla of Bombay and the following three coins struck me as very interesting. These are being published here with his kind permission.

(a) A unique rupee of Muhammad Shah.

Mint Murshidabad, Date 1031 Ahd.

This rupee, issued in the first year of his reign, has a novel legend not found on any of his coins known to us so far.

Obv.


Rev.


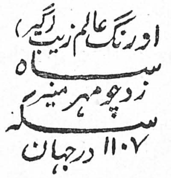
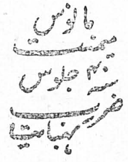
New M. M. at (a)

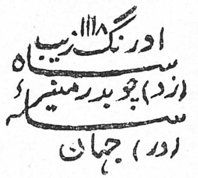
The title of '*Nāsir-u-d-din Abulfateh*' is entirely different from his other titles usually found on his coins. At p. 307 of *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Hodivala states full Style and Titles of Muhammad Shah as '*Abul Muzaffar Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah Padishah-i-Ghazi*'.

But he admits many authors of other historical books assign this Emperor, the *Kunyat* '*Abul-Fateh*' instead of '*Abul Muzaffar*'. The legend inscribed on this coin now proves this fact.

(b) Two half rupees of Aurangzeb of Khambayat Mint.

A large number of rupees of Aurangzeb issued from this sea port of Gujarat are known to us. But no half rupees of this mint were published in any catalogue of Mughal coins. At p. 550 of *N. S.*, No. XX, five half rupees of Aurangzeb issued from this mint were noted by Dr. Taylor. They are dated 19-1087, 24-1091, 3X-1098, 3X-1100, and 34-1102 H. But the dates on our specimens, which were issued towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, are new. Both these coins were issued from different dies in different years and in different legends. One bears the lengend مہر منیر while the other بدر منیر These are being described below :

1. Obv.  Rev. 

2. Obv.  Rev.

4.

A Unique Rupee of Rafi'-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II

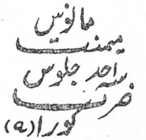
S. Lane Poole says that "year 1131 H. witnessed the remarkable spectacle of four princes successively assuming the crown. Two of them were set up in rapid sequence by the Sayyid brothers; they were both sons of the late prince Rafi'-us-Shān, the son of Bahadur and were styled Rafi'-ud-Darjāt and Raji'-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II. The first died in four months, and the second followed him to the grave after holding the nominal sceptre for a few months".[1]

This rupee of Kora mint was received at the Lucknow Museum as treasure trove from the Banaras district of U. P. Like all other coins of other mints of this ruler, the present coin is dated in 1131 *ahd.* The coins of Rafi'-ud-Darjāt were issued in his own name while those of his brother Rafi'-ud-Daulah were struck in the name of Shahjahan (II).

Except a passing reference by Taylor[2] no other coins of Shahjahan II of Kora mint are described anywhere. Kora is a small town in the Fatehpur district of U. P. and a large number of rupees of Muhammad Shah were issued from this mint.

1. *BMC of Mughal Coins*, p. XXXVI.
2. *NS*, No. XIV, p. 572.

The legend on this coin is as under :

Obv. Rev. 

5.

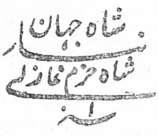
An Extremely Rare Rupee of Shāh Jahān in the name of Shah Khurram

Khurram was the princely name of Shah Jahan. Jahangir informs us in his *Tuzuk* that this prince was given at birth the name of 'Sultan Khurram,' because 'his advent made the World joyous (Khurram).' We also learn that Sultan Khurram was given the title of *Shāh* and ordered to be styled 'Shah Sultan Khurram' in the eleventh year of his reign. We know that Jahangir's coins were issued in the name of Salim and this practice of issuing coins in the princely name was followed by some of his successors.

Following specimens of this variety were published before :—

1. No. 578 of the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the British Museum, London.*
2. No. 3 of the article "Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India" published in Part II of *Num. Chronicle* (5th series), p. 363, by Whitehead. This specimen is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York.
3. No. 6 of the same article, Part II, published in Vol. X (5th series), p. 207. This is a unique Nisar in the collection of Christ Church Library, Oxford. It is the only known Nisar which bears a rhyming distich. The legend on it is read and translated by him as under :—

Obv : In triple circle on floral field. **Rev :** As on obverse



The couplet

مہر کند سپہر زر از سرافرازی
نثار شاہجہان شاہ خرم غازی

"The sun (or impression) makes a sky of gold through the exaltation of the Nisar of Shah Jahan, Shah Khurram Ghazi." This translation does not seem to be convincing. My humble suggestion is given below :—

نثار شاہجہان شاہ خرم غازی
مہر کند سپہر زر از سرافرازی

"The Nisar of Shah Jahan Shah Khurram Ghazi proudfully struck coins on the sky (i. e. Sun and Moon)."

Recently the State Museum, Lucknow, has acquired another specimen, which tallies in all respects with No. 1 and 2 of the above list. All these coins were issued from the Lahore mint. The legend on these rupees runs as under :—

Obv :

Rev : In a dotted circle, the Kalmia and

The absence of the title شہاب الدین in all these specimens clearly proves that these coins were issued prior to the actual enthronement of the king. In this connection Hodivala, in his *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 299, states :—

"There can be little doubt that the unique Lahor rupee in the British Museum (No. 578) on which the *laqab* of the Emperor is given as ناصرالدین was struck before the formal choice of شہاب الدین on the day of the enthronement. We know that the *Khutba* was read by Āsaf Khān's orders at Lahor on Sunday the 21st of Jumad I, 1037 and we may be sure that the inclusion of the birth name (Khurram) and the absence of the second adjunct Sahib Qiran were both due to the fact of the official style and titles of the new emperor having not yet been fixed."*

*[*Note*—All the four coins mentioned above were issued from Lahore mint in the first regnal year of Shahjahan. There are reasonable grounds for Singhal's suggestion that

they were issued before the formal coronation. But they were not issued merely in the follow of the innovation of Jahangir. We explicitly know that Shah Jahan had ordered that all coins should continue to bear the name of his father upto the day of his formal coronation. A coin issued in his name from Surat before the coronation was disowned by him. The factors at Ahmadabad wrote to the East India Company on the 21st January 1628, "What money is coined in this town bear the stamp of Shaw Selim (i.e. Shah Salim—Jahangir) by prince's own order at this being here till he bee crowned in Dillie so that the quoyning of money in Surat under his name is affirmed to be done by the Governor there without his order ; neither will they pass here without some losse."[1] In view of this order coins could not be issued in the emperor's name. So it appears that the moneyers at Lahore adopted a *via media* of saving themselves from the disobedience of the order and at the same time avoiding the name of the deceased emperor. They gave the princely name of the king on their coins, meaning thereby that it was not the royal coinage, yet it was.—*P. L. Gupta*]

1. W. Foster, *English Factorie in India*, 1626-1629, p. 232.

THREE UNIQUE SOUTH INDIAN COPPER COINS

P. N. MOHANDAS

[Plate VII]

In the course of a cursory examination of hoards of South Indian copper coins in the cabinet of the Madras Government Museum by me and my colleague Shri P. R. Srinivasan, now Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, we came across a large number of small coins with a series of interesting iconographic, floral, animal and bird motifs. This led us to study similar collections of coins in the Government Museum, Pudukkottai, and in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Subsequently four private collections were also examined. We have so far examined about 5,000 coins and each collection has brought out new motifs in iconography and other subjects. It is seen that this interesting group of coins has not been adequately studied. It has therefore been proposed to examine as many collections as possible and get a comprehensive catalogue of these coins published by the Madras Museum.

We have, for example, noticed figures of deities like Umāmaheśvara, Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu, dancing Bālakṛishṇa, Kāliya-Kṛishṇa, Veṅkateśa, Narasiṁha, Yoganarasiṁha, Subrahmaṇya with Vallī and Devasenā, Lakshmī and Durgā and other motifs like Hanumāna, Garuḍa and Rāmanātha Liṅga (of Rāmeśwaram) with the figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. The above motifs have been noticed on a number of coins. Here, however, I am placing before the scholars three coins with unique and interesting iconographic motifs on them, namely, Naṭarāja, Śeshaśāyī and Vaikuṇṭha.

At the outset, I would like to give the general fabric and pattern of the coins examined by us. All of them are copper and round in form. Their weights vary from 0.85 to 1.50 grammes. The obverse generally shows iconographic or other motifs and the reverse bears a legend, *Śrīvīra* or *Śrīdhara,* in Kannada or Telugu script of about the 17th century A. D. The motifs and the legends are invariably enclosed within a dotted circle. Another interesting feature noticed here is that almost all the coins examined so far are reported to have been obtained from the Districts of Madurai, Trichinopoly and Ramanathapuram which formed the territory of the Nāyak

rulers of Madura (1529-1736 A. D.). It may be mentioned here that a coin which has been described by various scholars like Tracy, Tufnell, Sewell and Elliot as a late Pāṇḍyan issue bears the legend in Tamil script, *Viśwanātha.* This is evidently the name of Viśwanātha whom Kṛishṇa Devarāya had sent to Madura as his Viceroy. Viśwanātha brought to a close the rule of the late Pāṇḍyan dynasty and founded the line of the Nāyaks of Madura. Although this coin has been described by the above scholars as a late Pāṇḍyan coin it may be considered as the earliest Nāyak coin and since then, his successors seem to have continued issuing their own coins, although they were nominally feudatories of the Vijayanagar kings. This practice seems to have prevailed till the end of the Nāyak rule as evidenced by a coin bearing on one side the legend, *Mīnā(kshī)* and on the other, the figure of a lion. The legend in all probability refers to Queen Mīnākshī (1732-36) with whom the Nāyak line of Madura ended. The paleography of the legend and the workmanship of the figure of the lion go to show that this coin was of the late 17th or early 18th century.

A few coins of the group under study have been noticed by Sewell, Tufnell and Elliot. Sewell, in his article on "Some Doubtful Coins of Southern India" in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, had thrown out a suggestion that these coins may have been issued by temples in South India as votive offerings and did not consider them as current coins. But from the fabric, metrology, etc., of these pieces, they have to be taken as regular current coins and issued by the Nāyak rulers of Madura. Their enormous number precludes them to have been temple coins. Further the two common legends noticed on them namely, *Śrī-vīra* and *Śrīdhara* may be the titles of the particular kings who issued these coins. In the genealogical list of the Nāyak Dynasty of Madura are noticed one Vīrappa Nāyak and three Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaks. Sewell and Tufnell cite the other legend *Śrīdhara* to support their theory that these are temple coins, *Śrīdhara* being a name of Vishṇu. But they have failed to notice that many coins with the legend *Śrīdhara* that we have now examined, bear on their obverse figures like Umā-maheśvara and Gaṇeśa. Hence in these particular instances, the legend *Śrīdhara* cannot refer to Vishṇu. Thus from a more comprehensive examination of large number of coins of this group, we are led to believe that these pieces might as well have been issued by the Nāyak rulers as current coins.

I shall now describe the three unique coins mentioned by me earlier.

Coin No. 1 :—

Metal	Copper.
Shape	Almost round.
Weight	0.8972 gramme.
Size	1 centimeter.

Obv. Naṭarāja in the Ānanda-tāṇḍava form, enclosed in a circle.

Rev. Legend, *Śrī-vīra*, in a circle.

(Pl. VII. 4)

The figure of Naṭarāja is almost completely preserved, except for the lower part of the right leg and the arm on the left side. The parts must have been there in the die, but while striking the coin they must have gone off the flan. The head of Naṭarāja in sculptural representation shows the peacock's plumes, the *dhatura* flower and the skull On this coin, however, only traces of them are found. The slightly slanting position of the head is characteristic of a typical Naṭarāja image in this mode. The upper right hand holds the *Ḍamaru* and the lower right hand is in the usual *abbaya-hasta* pose. The lower left arm is held in the graceful *gajahasta* pose. What little is seen of the torso shows that the figure has been designed by a deft hand. The most interesting feature of the figure is the manner in which the uplifted left leg is depicted. The angle in which the right leg has been shown in the background, satisfies the requirements and the depiction of the two legs has invested the figure with a graceful poise. In all these details, this figure, though depicted in a miniature form, bears a striking resemblance to the world-renowned Tiruvalangadu Naṭarāja of the Madras Museum.

Coin No. 2 :—

Metal	Copper.
Shape	Round.
Weight	1.086 grammes.
Size	1.1 centimeters.

Obv. Śeshaśāyī, two armed, with head to proper right and with Brahmā shown seated on the lotus emanating from Vishṇu's navel, in a circle, the whole enclosed within a dotted circle.

Rev. *Nāmaṁ* with the Sun and Moon symbols in a circle, the whole within a dotted circle.

(Pl. VII. 5)

The representation on the obverse of Śeshaśāyī is a magnificent one. The most interesting feature is that the figure is two-armed. This is a characteristic which had been in vogue from very early times, the earliest in South India being the one in the Mahishamardinī cave at Mahabalipuram. The serpent Śesha's five hoods can be easily seen above the figure of Vishṇu, and the coil of the serpent is shown as a couch on which Vishṇu is reclining. Another interesting feature is the depiction of Brahmā on the lotus. Owing to the small size of the flan, the particulars of this detail are not distinct, but there are sufficient indications to show that this is present. The depiction of the Śayana form of the deity is reminiscent of earlier representations in sculpture.

Coin No. 3 :—

Metal	...	...	...	Copper.
Shape	...	...	...	Round.
Weight	...	...	...	1.211 grammes.
Size	...	...	...	1 centimeter.

Obv. Two-armed Vishṇu seated in the *mahārāja-līlā* pose with the five hoods of the serpent above his head. This figure is the Vaikuṇṭha-nātha form of Vishṇu.

Rev. Eight-petalled flower design.

(Pl. VII. 6)

Here, too, the figure of Vaikuṇṭha-nātha depicted on the obverse is unique. No such representation in the pose in which this figure has been depicted on this coin is known from South India. The known ones from Nammakkal and Aihole are four-armed. The only comparable representation in sculpture known so far is the one from Sirpur.

A more detailed examination of these late South Indian copper coins will help us to make a comprehensive study of iconographic motifs and correlate them with those in sculpture.

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COUNTERMARKED COINS OF THE SHAHS OF PERSIA

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plates IV–VI]

In the course of an examination of the countermarks occurring on Suri, Mughal and Sikh coins current in the North-West of India and in Afghanistan and Kashmir certain Persian coins were found which bore similar countermarks. These Persian coins are not included in the two notes which have been prepared as it was thought a separate paper on the subject would be of interest as so little appears to have been published which can help in explaining the necessity for the countermarks.

The results of the earlier enquiries have been embodied in two papers. The first appeared under the title "Countermarked Mughal and Suri Coins", in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol: XXV, Part I, and the second "Countermarked Durrani and Sikh Coins", in Part II of the same volume of the *Journal.*

In the preparation of the two papers an attempt was made to show that many of the countermarks were either Persian in origin, or inspired by considerations of vassalage of the early Mughal and Durrani rulers to the Persian Government of the period. These early rulers were dependent on the Persians for asylum when dispossessed of their territory, and relied on the support afforded to them to consolidate their positions and regain their territory.

Almost all the Persian coins in the British Museum were examined and on many of the coins of the Shahs of Persia countermarks were observed, as mentioned earlier, on the gold, silver and copper coins. While some of the countermarks can be explained as of Persian origin due to considerations which will be dealt with in greater detail later, there are others which must be accounted for as a result of either Mughal or Durrani penetration into Persia, and again, others due probably to pressure exerted by Afghan rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when enforcing an extortionate policy of countermarking foreign currency passing through their territory in the course of trade to and from Central Asia, or on silver leaving Persia for India.

Persian silver was in demand in India and this would account for many Persian coins which are found with countermarks. This aspect will also be considered in greater detail later in the note. Suggestions which will be offered to account for countermarks must necessarily be tentative as authentic information is not readily available and literature in which Persian coins have been either catalogued, or described, is not very helpful and invariably merely refers to the fact that certain coins occur with countermarks. The explanation for this lack of information may, in part, be due to the near confusion in the production of the coinage from several provincial mints, as also through the agency of private individuals in the case of the copper currency.

It is clear that coinage in the precious metals only appeared to have been controlled in the time of the Shahs and even this control could not have been effective as almost every provincial city had its mint and this must, and did, result in a multiplication of types, as also in a variation in the purity of the metal used and the weights of individual coins. Furthermore, as each mint issued coins with its own mint name, there would be the difficulty in trading outside the particular provincial boundary without having to pay discount on the coins, due to the quality of the metal, the variation in the weights, or in the date of issue. With copper this difficulty was even greater as mints were not ordinarily under government management, or even control, and the demand was met by the employment of moneyers who were able to manipulate the currency, with, or without, the connivance of minor government officials.

Extracts from H. L. Rabino di Borgomales *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran* (1500-1941), will be quoted as they confirm some of the previous statements in connection with the currency of the period.

"*Silver. Establishment of a New Mint* :—

About 1863 the Iranian Government bought some machinery in France and engaged three Frenchmen to erect a mint at Tihran. The Chief of the mints, for reasons of his own, put difficulties in the way of the Frenchmen, who left the Iranian Service after three years of forced inactivity. The mint continued in charge of Iranians and the money to be coined in the old primitive manner by the hammer, up to the year 1877, when Bergrath F. Pechan, of the Austrian Mint, arranged the mint establishment at Tihran with modern machinery."

"*Suppression of Provincial Mints* :—

The coinage was then reformed and the provincial mints were suppressed, some of them, however, still coining as late as the end of 1878. Hasan Ali Khan died some years before this; his son Dūst Muhammad Khan, inherited the title of "Assayar of the Empire", but had nothing to do with the mint."

"*Abolition of the farming of the Mint* :—

The farming of the Mint* was only abolished under the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Din-Shah (1896-1907)

Note: *The King of Persia farms out the mint to private persons, who gain most by it and share stakes with the money changers, whom they call 'Sarraf,' who have their shops, or offices, in the 'maidan' and are obliged to bring all foreign money to the public mint which they call 'Serab Khana."

"*Origin of Silver in Circulation under Fath Ali Shah*

Most of the silver in circulation under Fath Ali Shah, says Morier, ("First Journey", p. 238) came originally from a very fine silver mine in Bukhara. There was also a mine in Adharbayjan and another near Shiraz.

Foreign coin also entered Iran from the South, especially through Bundar Abbas. The sum seems to have been fairly large. In 1633, Willaim Gibson reported that the "Mint Houses"" could only be maintained on imported reals.

Olearius (1637-8, 1662.ed ; p. 300) writes—

They (the Iranians) will receive from foreigners no other money than Rix Dollars, or Spanish Ryals, which thay immediately convert into abbasis and gain a fourth part of the money."

"*Excellence of Iranian Coins* :—

According to European travellers, the fineness and weight of the silver currency was very good. Thévenot 1664-7. III. p. 305-306) writes —As the abbasis are the coins that are most current in Persia, it is well to know that they are the best money in the world. They are of very pure silver......

This high standard was not maintained and we learn from Kaempfer (Fasc : V. p. 53) that in 1684 out of 30,000 'Tumans' deposited at the Treasury, only 300 were found to be in due form.

Herr F. Pechan refers to 'Krans' of Hamadan and Teheran. He also refers to those of other towns and of the capital and states the difference in weights is considerable from a monetary point of view."

"Drainage of coin to India and other parts :—

The Indians (in Persia) systematically took advantage of the differences in weight, or fineness, in the local currency, buying up the better coins and sending them to India. Foreign merchants trading in Iran did much the same thing, but exported mostly in ingots of gold or silver.

The drainage of Iranian coin to India, although numerous edicts were enacted against it (the culprit being liable, at one time, to the death penalty), has gone on regularly since the seventeenth century and even earlier. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century, every year, in anticipation of the buying season for wool, silk, gums, etc :, it was necessary to import bar silver into Iran to be minted there. No doubt because of their relatively good fineness and weight, the new 'qirans' found their way to Afghanistan, to Peshawar and other market towns of India and even China, and never returned to Iran, being eventually melted for the value of their metal.

It is evident, therefore, that Iranian coin constituted an acceptable and sound medium of exchange although we are told, at times, that it was only accepted by weight."

"Copper Coinage :—

The copper coinage was, with a few exceptions, autonomous. There is usually on the obverse of what is often a shapeless lump of metal, the figure of an animal, man, or object, and on the reverse the name of the mint and date."

"Changing of Copper Currency :—

Each city had its own particular copper coinage and mark. This was changed every year and was only current when it was coined. On the 'Nauruz' all copper money was cried down in value and thereafter its mark was changed. The Shah made large profits by this means.

The following lines from Father Krusinski (1702-1722. i. p. 89) explain why such an act was worthy of commemoration:-

Though none but the King has the right to coin silver money, the governors of the provinces have a right to coin copper, and this money, which is fixed at a certain value in their province during their term of office there, depreciates to one half of its value when they are displaced, and never goes for any more in the other provinces; so that a piece of copper, which is worth ten pence in the province when the governor with whose stamp it is coined is in power, is worth but five pence in all other provinces of the kingdom and suffers the same abatement in his own too, the moment he gives place to his successor......"

"*Standardization of Copper Currency-Nickel*:—

As recently as 1856, the governor of Rasht made a great deal of money by arbitrarily changing the value of the old copper money of the town almost every month. Shortly afterwards the copper currency of Iran was standardized. Nickel was introduced as a currency in 1901."

"*Confused state of the Copper Currency under Nasiru'd-Din. Law of 1857* —

The copper currency was in a great state of confusion in the time of Nasiru'd-Din, the 'qiran' being exchanged in various provinces for 70, 30 or 20 'shahis'. The law of 1857 had fixed the standard for the copper currency, but as the old currency was not redeemed, the new issue tended to increase instead of decreasing the prevailing confusion."

"*Reform of the Copper Currency in 1875* :—

In 1875, Herr Pechan was entrusted with the reform of the currency, but he no sooner began his work than he was ordered to coin large quantities of copper, and to leave silver minting for a future occasion. Finally the copper currency had to be redeemed in the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Din at anything up to 80 copper 'shahis' a 'qiran' instead of 20, and in 1901 it was replaced by nickel."

Mints referred to by H. L. Rabino as functioning in the period ranging from A. H. 1277-1293 (A. D. 1861-1877) are Herat, Yazd, Rasht, Kirmanshah, Kashan, Shiraz, Tabriz, Teheran, Mazandaram, Mashad, Kirman, Isfahan and Hamadan.

In a list of mints that operated in Persia at various times he includes the names of one hundred and twenty-four that issued coins in gold, silver and copper and it is seen that

sixty-five autonomous mints, producing copper currency functioned in the same period.

In considering the countermarks which are found on coins of the Shahs the enquiry cannot merely be confined to Persia's internal history, or to the expedients which made it necessary to widen the circulation of the provincial currency as this currency must have handicapped internal trade by the very nature of the restrictions imposed and would also have resulted in personal loss, due to the depreciation in value when circulating outside its limits.

Other factors must also have operated, the chief of which would have been the adjoining territory of Afghanistan, from which attacks and counter attacks were made by the various occupying powers into Persian territory. These incidents follow so closely on each other that an attempt will be made to furnish, in chronological order, the main events which may help in a clearer appreciaticn of the situation. Precise details cannot be furnished in a short paper and the incidents and dates may be accepted as approximately accurate in relation to the many invasions and counter invasions.

The particulars have been extracted mainly from details furnished in the *Gazetteer of India* Volume XIV.

A.H. 910. (A.D. 1504)	—Kabul captured by Babur.
A.H. 918-937 (A.D. 1512-1530)	—Kandahar held by Babur after capture from Timur in A. H. 918.
A.H. 937-1058 (A.D. 1530-1648)	—Kandahar held by the Mughals and Persian Safavids, who captured and re-captured the area at intervals.
A.H. 1058-1120 (A.D. 1648-1708)	—Kandahar held by the Ghilzais, who were under Persian control.
A.H. 1120-1151 (A.D. 1708-1738)	—Ghilzais independent. They defeated the Persians and even entered Persia.
A.H. 1151-1160 (A.D. 1738-1747)	—Kandahar once more under the Persians in the person of Nadir Shah.

A.H. 1160-1234 (A.D. 1747-1818) —Kandahar under Ahmad Shah Durrani, an Afghan, and his successors.

A.H. 1160-1352 (A.H. 1747-1933) —Afghanistan under the Barakzai Wazirs and Amirs.

Countermarks

A brief description of the countermarks found on the coins is considered necessary at this stage and they will be grouped under seven distinct types.

(1) Coins of particular mints bearing countermarks of other towns, with or without dates.

(2) Coins with countermarks with the name of a ruler instead of a town.

(3) A countermark with the word *'San'* and a *'Hijra'* date.

(4) Coins with counrermarks of towns, or with the word *'Rāij'*, with or without a date, enclosed in ornamental cartouches.

(5) Coins with countermarks of a small, or large, rising sun, with a face within the large sun.

(6) Coins with the word *'Raij'* only within small incuse cartouches ; usually circular in shape.

(7) Autonomous copper coins with miscellaneous countermarks.

Inscriptions found on countermarks.

A short description of the inscriptions and the manner in which they occur is considered necessary. H. L. Rabino has furnished information that is instructive and it is proposed to include extracts in the note.

The earlier coins have, in addition to the name of the mint at which the countermark was affixed, the words بد بود *'ba-bod'* and عدل *'adl'* and this is followed on some coins by the word ضرب *'zarab.'*

The word عدل *'adl'* is sometimes found with the additional words شاه *'Shah'*—شاهی *'Shahi'* شاهی ضرب *'Shahi-zarab'* and these are followed by the name of the mint

In amplification of the foregoing H. L. Rabino has furnished details of certain countermarks in which the words are used.

They occur on the coins of the Safavids and will be repeated as they are of assistance when attempting to read some of the more difficult countermarks.

Isma'il I. A.H. 907-930 (A.D. 1502-1524)

عدل اردبيل — *Adl Ardabil.*
عدل استراباد — *Adl Astarabad.*
عدل تبريز — *Adl Tabriz.*
عدل شاه — *Adl Shah.*
عدل شاه ضرب مشهد — *Adl Shah Zarab Mashad.*
بهبود اسعد — *Ba-bod* (?).

Muhammad Khudabanda. A.H. 985-994 (A.D. 1578-1585)

شاهی عدل یزد — *Shahi Adl Yazd.*
عدل شاهی یزد — *Adl Shahi Yazd.*

Similar countermarks are found of Ardabil, Irvan and Teheran, but H.L. Rabino does not mention the collections in which he found them.

Abbas. II. A.H. 1052-1077. (A.D. 1642-1667)

رايج — *Raij.*

In addition to the mints mentioned by H.L. Rabino a list of mints and countermarks which are seen on coins in the British Museum Collection is appended.

Safavids. Isma'il. I. A.H. 907-930 (A.D. 1502-1524)

عدل شيراز — *Adl Shiraz.*
عدل شاه ضرب مشهد — *Adl Shah Zarab Meshed.*
به بود مشهد — *Ba-bod Meshed.*

Note: This may be the correct reading of the sixth coin in H.L. Rabino's list and similar to his coin No: 87. referred to in the schedule under Isma'il. I.

عدل شاه مشهد — *Adl Shah Meshed.*

Note: Similar to the fifth coin in H.L. Rabino's list, under Isma'il. I., but without the word *Zarab*.

عدل قندهار — *Adl Kandahar.*

Safavids. Tahmasp. I. A.H. 930-984 (A.D. 1525-1576)

عدل ضرب طهماسپ شاه — *Adl Zarab Tahmasp Shah.*

Afghans. Mahmud. A.H. 1135-1137. (A.D. 1722-1725)

Sun, small. (Pl: x No: 12.)

Sun. large with face in circle. (Pl: x No: 13.)
Note: H.L. Rabino's coin No: 302 is similar to the second coin in the British Museum Collection and is said to be in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Afsharids. Shah Rukh. (Third Reign) A. H. 1168-1210. (A. D. 1755-1796)

رايج ۱۱۹۸ — *Raij* with date 1198.

رايج — *Raij* without date.

Zands. Karim Khan. A.H. 1163-1193. (A,D. 1750-1779)

رايج — *Raij.*

Persian Autonomous Coinage–Copper.

رايج — *Raij,*

عدل كابل — *Adl Kabul*

ضرب كابل — *Zarab Kabul*
ضرب دنكى — *Zarab Dhanki*
or
ضرب دنگى — *Zarab Dhangi*

Note:—Coin with countermarks on both obverse and reverse. *Dhanki* or *Dhangi* does not appear to be in the list of mints mentioned by H.L. Rabino and must be in Afghanistan.

ضرب هرات —*Zarab Herat* (?).
ضرب كا بل —*Zarab Kabul.*

Note:—Coin with two countermarks superimposed; the lower, or earlier one, appears to read *Herat.*

In the earlier paragraphs an attempt has been made to furnish information which would help in an understanding of some of the factors which made it necessary to countermark Persion coins. The information had, necessarily to be brief

and may have appeared sketchy. It has to be borne in mind that the main consideration in this paper is the numismatic interest attached to the countermarks, a subject on which so little appears to have been recorded previously, and only such incidents as seem to furnish clues to the necessity for their use will be stressed. Much of this must be tentative and may not prove to be correct when further research and documentary evidence provide more detailed information. The object of the enquiry, with its suggestions, is to stimulate an interest in the continued study of the subject. Material must be available in manuscripts in Persia which have not yet been considered by scholars. In considering the countermarks it is proposed to follow the order in which the sub-heads have been grouped earlier in the note.

(1). Coins of particular mints bearing countermarks of other towns, with or without dates.

These are perhaps the commonest and it may be assumed such countermarking was an expedient which permitted countermarked coins to have a wider circulation in the interests of inter-provincial trade and it would also minimise loss due to discount to individuals travelling from one province to another.

Coins under this category are Nos: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Coin No: 3, which is dated A.H. 920, is thought to be an exception and the possibility is it was countermarked by the Mughals at Kandahar, as the town was held by Babur from the year A.H. 915.

(2). Coins with countermarks with the name of a ruler instead of a town.

The practice may have been necessitated by a ruler countermarking his own uncurrent coins of earlier date, or to countermarking the coinage of a vassal who had ceased to be recognised, been killed, or died naturally.

Coins under this category are listed as Nos. 12 and 28. In the case of the gold coin, No: 12, no change of the mint has been made. With No: 28 the ruler's name is repeated on one side, but the mint name has been altered to extend its circulation by including the name Teheran on a coin of Rasht.

(3). *A countermark with the word 'San' and a 'Hijra' date.*

A coin, No: 58, catalogued by H.L. Rabino in *A Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Iran*, Plate III. It would appear that a coin with an earlier date has been countermarked with a later date thereby permitting its circulation without loss on account of discount. This coin figures as No : 7 in the list at the end of the note.

(4). *Coins with countermarks of towns, or with the word 'Raij', with or without a date, enclosed in ornamental cartouches.*

A coin with a countermark of this description is No : 13 of Meshed mint of Tahmasp II. A.H. 1135-1149 (A.D. 1722-1731), dated A.H. 1139.

Other coins are Nos : 18 and 20 in the list of Shah Rukh of Meshed mint, with date A.H. 1195, with an ornamental cartouche and was possibly countermarked in the time of Timur Shah.

These coins have cartouches which resemble those that normally occur on coins countermarked by the Durranis.

Reginald Stuart Poole—*Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum,* in the introduction, has furnished particulars which describe the situation that existed in the province of Khurasan in the time of the Persian ruler Shah Rukh, A.H. 1161-1210. (A.D. 1748-1796)

Ahmad Shah Durrani defeated Shah Rukh and occupied his capital, Meshed, in the year A. H 1168. On the capture of Meshed Shah Rukh surrendered to Ahmad Shah and was enthroned by him as Shah of Iran, obviously in vassalage to, or under his protection. He was supposed to be Shah of Iran, but was never more than Shah of Khurasan and Persian coinage of an earlier date and coins issued during his vassalage must have circulated not only in Khurasan, but also in Afghanistan after they had been countermarked by the Durranis.

This would explain coins of Tahmasp II. dated A.H. 1139 and of Shah Rukh dated A. H. 1195 and A. H. 1205 with Durrani countermarks of Ahmad Shah and Timur.

(5) *Coins with countermarks of a small or large rising sun, with a face within the large sun.*

Of the three coins in the tabulated list two are of Isfahan mint and the third, without particulars of the mint, which H. L. Rabino states is in the collection of the Ashmolean at Oxford.

The ruler in whose reign the three coins were issued was Mahmud A.H. 1135-1137 (A.D. 1722-1725.) and he was one of two Afghan rulers who occupied Persia for a period of approximately eight years. Mahmud's coins are dated A. H. 1135 aud 1136. Ashraf, the second ruler, fled on Nadir Shah's troops occupying his capital.

Nadir Shah ruled from A. H. 1148-1160 (A. D. 1736-1747.). It is possible the rising sun countermark was affixed by this Afsharid ruler on Mahmud's coins.

The sun motif, which is of Saljuq origin, was used on Persian coinage from early Safavid times.

(6) Coins with the word 'Raij' only within small incuse cartouches ; usually circular in shape.

Similar countermarks have been referred to previously in the *Journal*, Volume XXV, Part I, pp. 43 to 45 and it may be advisable to reconsider some of the possibilities which have been mentioned before attempting to fix on the authority responsible forthem.

After his conquests in Persia in A. H. 1168, Ahmad Shah Durrani placed Shah Rukh in charge of the province of Khurasan in a subordinate position, very probably of vassalage, as referred to in paragraph (4). During this period it is possible the Persian coins, which were in circulation in Afghanistan, were countermarked in order to authorise their circulation and it is possible more than one type of countermark was adopted.

Under item (4) countermarks enclosed in ornamental cartouches were considered, but countermarking may have been carried out at more than one centre and this could explain how these simpler countermarks with the word 'Raij', enclosed within an incuse circle, may also have been the work of the Durranis. It is also possible this simpler type is of later date and was the countermark used in marking the coins of Shah Rukh and Karim Khan in the reign of Timur Shah.

Another possibility is the countermarks may have been affixed as stated in the *Journal*, Volume XXV, Part I, pp. 44

and 45. It is known that traders moved between India and Central Asia and back, and it has also been stated earlier in the note that silver from Persia was brought into India. A substantial revenue would have resulted to the Afghan authority responsible for countermarking the silver coins exported from Persia to India, some of which may have been recoined and the rest converted into ornaments.

Coins with this countermark are included in the list as Nos : 17 and 19, and 21 to 27.

(7) *Autonomous Copper Coins wtth miscellaneous countermarks.*

These coins have been numbered from 1 to 7 at the end of the tabulated list. Four coins, Nos : 1 and 5 to 7, have ornamental cartouches enclosing the countermarks and it may be suggested they are Durrani in origin. They may also have been affixed by local Afghan rulers to extend the circulation of the coins. It cannot be suggested such countermarking resulted in any material benefit to the authority undertaking the work as only a small charge could have been recoverable by way of a tax, or fee, for carrying out the work. Coin No : 20 and No : 1. are similar and may be classified as autonomous.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the assistance I have received in the preparation of the casts from the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum and for permission to publish and illustrate coins in the National Collection.

Tabulated List of Persian Coins with Countermarks.

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
SAFAVIDS						
Isma'il. I. A. H. 907-930. (A. D. 1502-1524.)						
1	A.V.	?	922	13.7	*Adl Shiraz*	British Museum. *Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia* p. 2. No. 2. **(Pl. IV. 1)**[1]
2	A.V.	?	?	11.9	*Adl Tabriz*	*Album of Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of*

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
						Iran" by H. L. Rabino Pl. I. No. 5
3	A.R.	?	920	141.5	*Adl Kandahar*	British Museum. No number; not catalogued. **(Pl. IV. 2)**
4	A.R.	?	923	58.9	*Adl Asterabad*	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 26. **(Pl. IV. 3)**
5	A.R.	Tun	924	77.3	*Adl Shah......* (Incomplete; as half off flan)	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 42. **(Pl. IV. 4)**
6	A.R.	Sebzwar	927	71.7	*Adl Shah Zarab Meshed*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 5)**
7	A.R.	Kashan	?	142.8	*San 928*	H. L. Rabino Pl. III. No. 58.
8	A.R.	?	929	59.2	*Adl Asterabad*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 6)**
9	A.R.	?	?	142.7	*Ba-bod. Meshed*	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 87. **(Pl. IV. 7)**
10	A.R.	Tabriz	?	65.3	*Adl Shah Meshed*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 8)**
11	A.R.	?	?	70.2	??	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 9)**

Tahmasp. I. A. H. 930-984. (*A. D. 1524-1576*)

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
12	A.V.	?	?	59.5	*Adl Zarab Tahmasp Shah*	Btriish Museum. An earlier coin of Tahmasp, or a vassal, re-issued. **(Pl. IV.10)**

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
Tahmasp. II. A. H. 1135-1144. (A. D. 1722-1731)						
13	A.R.	Meshed	1139	61.6	*Raij*	British Museum. p. 58. No. 169. **(Pl. IV. 11)**
AFGHANS						
Mahmud A. H. 1135-1137. (A. D. 1722-1725)						
14	A.R.	Isfahan	1135	69.5	Sun ; small.	British Museum. p. 65. No. 194. **(Pl. IV. 12)**
15	A.R.	Isfahan	1135	70.0	Sun, large with face in centre.	British Museum. p. 65. No. 195. **(Pl. V. 1)**
16	A.R.	?	1136	118.8	Rayed sun.	H. L. Rabino, No. 302. Coin in Ashmolean Museum Oxford.
AFSHARIDS						
Shah Rukh. Total reign A. H. 1161-1210 (A. D. 1748-1796) Third reign A. H. 1168-1210. (A. D. 1755-1796) Vassal of Ahmad Shah Durrani.						
17	A.R.	Ganja	1189	37·5	*Raij*	H. L. Rabino. No.460.Huge and Paris Collections.
18	A.R.	Meshed	1195	170.4	*Raij. 1198.*	British Museum. p. 101. No. 316. **(Pl. V. 2)**
19	A.R.	Meshed	?	17.2	*Raij*	British Museum. p. 101, No. 317, **(Pl. V. 3)**
20	A.E.	Meshed	1205	?	Elephant & rider on obverse, with countermark Raij in an ornamental cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. V. 4)**

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
ZANDS						
Karim Khan A.H. 1163-1193. (A.D. 1750-1779).						
21	A.R.	Ganja	1189	44.0	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche on reverse.	British Museum. Not included in the catalogue. **(Pl. V. 5)**
22	A.R.	Ganja	1189	47.1	*Raij* in lined circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 385, **(Pl. V. 6)**
23	A.R.	Ganja	1189	47.6	*Raij* in circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 386. **(Pl. V. 7)**
24	A.R.	Ganja	1190	46.6	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No.397 **(Pl. V. 8)**
25	A.R.	Ganja	1190 written 119.	47.0	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No. 398. **(Pll. V. 9)**
26	A.R.	Ganja	1191 written 1 P 11 or 1 P H	49.6	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No. 401. **(Pl. V. 10)**
27	A.R.	Ganja	1192	46.7	*Raij* in circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 402. H. L. Rabino. No. 478. **(Pl. V. 11)**
QAJARS						
Fath Ali Shah. A.H. 1211-1250. (A. D. 1797-1834.)						
28	A.R.	Rasht	?	94.2	Countermarked both obverse and reverse. *Zarab Teheran* on obverse and *Fath Ali Shah* on obverse. Both countermarks in lined circles.	H. L. Rabino. No.532. Pl. XXI. From a sale catalogue of Jaques Schulman.
PERSIAN AUTONOMOUS COINAGE.						
1	A.E.	Meshed	1205	...	Elephant & rider *Raij* in an orna-	British Museum Included under

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
					mental cartouche on obverse.	Afghan coins. Similar to No. 20 **(Pl. VI. 1)**
2	A.E.	?	?	...	*Adl Kabul* in an incuse lined square.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 2)**
3	A.E.	?	?	...	Countermarked on both obverse and reverse. *Zarab Kabul* in a square and on the other side *Zarab Dangi* or *Danki* in a lined cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 3)**
4	A.E.	?	?	...	Two countermarks which overlap. The first, or lower one, may be *Zarab Herat,* in a lined circle. The second is *Zarab Kabul* in an ornamental cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 4)**

Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the Cabinets of Coins and Medals Paris, Oxford, Brussels, The Hague and Col. R. Burns.—H. L. Rabino.

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
5	A.E.	?	?	...	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	Roughly rectangular in shape. Coin defaced. H. L. Rabino. Pl. XIV, No.313.
6	A.E.	?	?	...	Lion to right with *Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	H. L. Rabino. Pl. XVIII. No. 382.
7	A.E.	?	?	...	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	Roughly rectangular in shape. Coin defaced. H. L. Rabino. Pl. XVIII. No. 388.

COUNTERMARKED SPANISH RIAL

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate VI]

Spanish rials were popular as currency in the Eastern and Far-Eastern trade from as early as the sixteenth century and readily accepted in trade along the entire sea-board of the Persian Gulf, India, the Malayan Peninsula and the Dutch settlements in the Java seas.

C. Scholten in *Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories*, states they were in circulation in the Indies up to the nineteenth century and goes on to inform us, in the same context, that the earliest, or crude type, were called "Real Batu" (stone rial) by the local inhabitants and "Spanish Mat" by the Dutch.

In referring to *The Companies for Distant Trade 1594-1602*, Scholten states that when De Houtman first sailed to the Indies rials were known from the itinerary of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten and this would seem to confirm they were known in the far-east before De Houtman reached the Indies.

The earliest reference to rials in the records of *The English Factories in India* by William Foster is contained in a letter of John Browne of Ahmedabad to the Company written on the 10th February 1618. They figure almost continuously in correspondence from this date to the year 1669 and must have continued in circulation in the later, or pillar dollars, of Mexico, Seville and Peru, for at least another century at the Indian coastal trading establishments.

Their exchange value varied between four shillings and six pence and five shillings and six pence and we find a reference to rials, in the correspondence, being calculated at four shillings and six pence and rated at five shillings when paying wages in the years 1618 to 1621.

In the period 1634 to 1636 a reference is found which mentions old rials and Seville money. The old rials are stated to be of better metal by local traders. The Company also acknowledged, at about the same period, that Seville coins were of better silver and weightier than Peruvian and Mexican rials.

As stated earlier rials were accepted universally on the Indian coast and it is seen from the correspondence of the factors, in the years 1624 to 29, that most of the silver importod for use in the eastern trade was recoined into Rupees or Persian Mahmudis.

In an article entitled "Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda", Dr. P. M. Joshi, *JNSI*, Volume V. Part I. 1943, pages 85 to 97, refers to rials, or Spanish dollars, being the commonest silver coins available in the Kingdom of Golconda in the seventeenth century and that most of them were brought in by European merchants trading on the coast. He also states that Persian 'Abbasis' and 'Mahmudis' were brought into Golconda about the same time and used as currency and that the coins imported by the Dutch were countermarked with the bale marks of the Dutch East India Company. This statement is confirmed by coins which are found with the letters V. O. C., in the form of a monogram, countermarked on them. No mention is made by Dr. Joshi of Dutch, English, or Golconda countermarks, or shroff marks made by bullion dealers, on rials current in the Golconda Kingdom.

This fact may have escaped the attention of the earlier writers as it is known that almost all the rials coming into Persian, Indian, Malayan or Chinese hands were either reconverted into local currency, or melted down and used in manufacturing jewelry. As a result very few countermarked coins could have survived for long and the few that exist today are only mentioned in the sale catalogues, or in the less accessible reference books on the colonial coinage of this period.

The coin with which we are concerned **(Pl. VI. 5)**, is one of about twelve which must have formed part of an hoard found in Ceylon, as they all came from a collection made of coins found on the Island. It is of considerable interest as it appears to be the only rial with an Indian countermark so far reported and has a clear date, A. H. 1068 (A. D. 1657/58) and part of an Arabic inscription of which only one word, "Shah", can be seen over the date. One other coin of this hoard has a date, A. D, 1655, and it can be assumed the coins came to India shortly after they were coined as the particular coin to which we refer was countermarked in A. D. 1657/58.

Dr : Joshi's article would tend to localise the countermark, and the date, A. H. 1068 is significant. The ruler Abdulla Kutub Shah of Golconda reigned from A. H. 1035 to 1083 (A. D. 1626-72) and it is probable the countermark, which seems to be more than a shroff mark, was affixed on rials by

some enactment of the Golconda Government, to permit them being used in the territory, or possibly to distinguish the rials of Mexico mint, which were considered superior to Peruvian rials of Lima mint.

The countermark could also have been affixed by the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur and the date is interesting if the countermarking was done by them as it could equally have been in the closing year of the reign of Muhammad, A. H. 1037-1068, (A.D. 1627-1657), or in the first year of Ali II, A. H. 1068-1083, (A. D. 1657-1672).

It may be thought an Adil Shahi countermark is improbable, but confirmation of the fact that they were interested in and a real menace to the eastern coastal trade in the seventeenth century is found in a reference in "The English Factories in India 1646-1650", an extract from which will be furnished. At this period both Bijapur and Golconda were an inconvenience to the trade and development of the Government in the locality and it is possible that rivalry existed between them in connection with participation in the local trade and that this also had its effect on the activities of the European Companies.

> "————and the body of this kingom (Vijayanagar ?) is harried by two forreigne nations, who lye within two daies journey one of another, with powerful armies, watching all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted, or divided, people. These are the Gulcandah and Vizapoor (Bijapur) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receave noe pay but plunder what they can ; whose incursins, roberies and devastacions hath brought a disolacion on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports, Tevenapatam (Devanampatnam. Fort St : David, Cuddalore). Porto Novo, and Pullacherry (Pondicherry), of which the two last are in a manner ruin'd, and other hardly preseveing itself in a poore condition with continueall presents."

The earlier rials are seldom found with countermarks and in the process of obtaining information which would account for the countermark on the coin in my possession, other countermarked rials were seen ; while descriptions of others were found in certain publications and sale catalogues.

Perhaps the commonest, of what must actually be a very rare countermark, is that of the "Golden Fleece" contained within a shield, on Mexican rials which were countermarked

for use in the Low Countries. Four of these coins are in the British Museum collection and another is included in a sale catalogue of March 1960 of Jacques Schulman of Amsterdam. It appears as No : 2062 and is illustratad on Plate 40. These rials would not have come out to the East, but are mentioned in order to make the list as complete as possible.

A rial with a countermark reading جاو (Java) is referred to by Scholten on page 61, as being in the collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia. This coin is also referred to by Sir John Bucknill in *Coins of the Dutch East Indies*, 1931, Page 42. No : 57.

A four rial cob, cut from a Spanish eight rial piece of Ferdinand VI and countermarked with a lion strident to right, within an incuse rectangle, is listed by Hans M.F. Schulman of New York in the catalogue of a sale held in November 1960 of the collection of Howard D. Gibbs. The coin is No : 550 and is illustrated in the sale catalogue. The coin is stated to be of Soumanap, a Sultanat on the Island of Madura on the North-east coast of Java. This attribution does not appear to be correct and the countermark should have been affixed by the Dutch at one of their settlements in the far-east. The reason for making this assertion will become apparent when the next countermarks are considered, as it will be seen that Sumanap had a countermark of its own in Arabic script.

Coin on which these occur are Nos : 943 to 946 in the sale catalogue of November 1960 of Jacques Schulman of Amsterdom. Three are stated to be "Real Batou" and No : 946 an half "Batou." The coins are illustrated on Plate 21 of the sale catalogue and have more than one countermark on each coin. The Countermarks with inscriptions are of considefable interest and read either سمنب 'Sumanap' or سمنف 'Sumanaf', in Malay Arabic, within rectangular or square incuses.

O. Codrington, ***Musalman Numismatics***, page 164, states 'Sumanap' or 'Sumanaf' is in Madura, an island at the north-eastern end of the Island of Java, 7°2'. S. and 113°.45'. E. He mentions the countermark and states it is stamped on some Spanish coins.

No coin countermarked in India, other than the one referred to, is known and the correct attribution will have to await the finding of a coin in which the inscription on the countermark is complete.

MISCELLANEA

1

A RARE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COIN

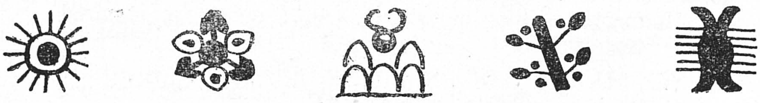
[Plate I]

In my small collection of silver punch-marked coins is a slightly worn irregular-shaped thin and broad coin **(Pl. I. 1 & 2)**, 1.05″ × .8″ in size and 3.1500 grammes (46.61 grains) in weight. It is interesting for two reasons :

(i) It is a double-obversed coin *i. e.* it bears a group of five symbols on both the sides. One of the sides **(Pl. I. 1)** is fresh in look and the symbols are quite clear for the identification. The other side **(Pl. I. 2)** is worn and not all the five symbols are visible or identifiable. This means that an original coin, with the group of five symbols, was restruck after being in circulation for some time ; and at the time of re-striking, the new symbol-group was struck on the original reverse and original obverse was then treated as reverse. Such double-obverse coins, though are not unknown, are only few so far published. And those that are published have not as yet been fully described and properly studied. So, the publication of the present coin might serve as a record for the scholars who may take up the study of this aspect of the punch-marked coins.

(ii) The later obverse symbol-group belongs to a rare variety of which only three coins are so far published. Dr. P. L. Gupta has noticed a coin of this variety in the Amaravati hoard and described it as variety IV. VI. 1.[1] He has also identified two other coins of this variety in the Big Bhir Mound hoard.[2] They were, though published by Walsh in his *Memoir* were not properly described and their symbol-group was not identified.

The coin may be described as follows :
The group of five symbols on the later obverse is as follows :



1 30 106 163 214

1. *Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 6), p. 61.
2. *Ibid.*

(i) Sun (Amaravati symbol No. 1) on the lower left corner ; (ii) six-armed symbol, (showing only an arrow and an oval with dot on its one side and part of another oval with dot on the other side), just above symbol No. (i). The complete symbol probably consisted of three arrows and three taurines alternately placed (Amaravati symbol No. 30 ; (iii) Six-arched hill with a taurine in between the upper two arches (Amaravati symbol No. 106) ; (iv) Five-pronged leafy branch of tree with dots between the branches (Amaravati symbol No. 179) ; (v) A long beetle with two-pronged head and tail and six vertical lines on each side, meant for legs (Amaravati symbol No. 214). Only part of the symbol is impressed on the coin.

Of the five symbols of the older obverse group, only three are visible. They are as follows :

1 (New) 214

(i) Sun (Amaravati symbol No. 1) (in the middle of the right edge ; (ii) six-armed symbol (to the left of symbol (i) but not clear. Only three arms are visible ; one of them appears to be oval with dot ; on its either side are two other arms, which may be arrows, but what exists on the coin is more like a minute solid pentagon than a pointed arrow ; (v) Same as symbol (v) of the later obverse, described above. The other two symbols (iii) and (iv) of the group are not visible.

Besides the obverse symbols, both sides have a few small or minute symbols, which may be the reverse marks. On the later obverse side are three such marks. One of them is neatly punched and appears to be a flower bud. The other two have only faint traces On the older obverse side also are three marks. Two of them are jumbled together and cannot be made out. The third is a star of 8 rays.

N. MUKUNDA ROW

2

PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM NEVARI, UMRER ; DIST : NAGPUR

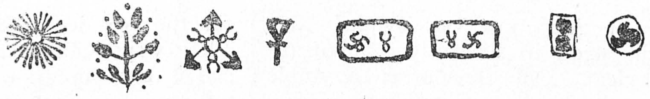
[Plate I]

Nevari is a small village about six miles east of Kuhi, a railway station on the Nagpur-Umrer section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway ; and lies about 28 miles due S. E. of Nagpur.

This village is situated on a high eminence, probably on the ruins of an old township and a small un-named nullah flows close to the village. In 1952-53, a very large hoard of punch-marked silver coins was accidently exposed near the village due to heavy floods. The coins, weighing over 3-4 seers in weight, were kept in an earthen pot. Several of these were distributed and melted away before they could be acquired for study. Five coins from this lot reached the hands of Shri K. K. Pant, of the Government Handicraft Emporium, Nagpur, who brought them to me for identification. I publish them here with his permission and in view of the new find-spot thus known.

The coins are of pure silver. They are rectangular in shape and their sides show marks of having been cut to shape by means of a sharp instrument **(Pl. I. 3-7)**. A transverse line caused by the chisel in so doing is seen on the reverse of **Pl. I. 4.**

The obverse and the reverse marks on the coins are as follows :



1 2 3 4 5a 5b 6 7

Obverse

(1) The solar symbol represented by radiating rays.

(2) A Branched Tree.

(3) A *Shadara Chakra* with three orbs surmounted by umbrellas and the rest three with Taurine symbols. One coin shows the central hub also which consisted of a pellet.

(4) Crudely formed Triangle-headed banner (*Vaijayanti*).

(5) A rectangular tank enclosing the Taurine symbol and a *Swastika*, either to its right or left.

Reverse

(6) Two rectangles joined together like a dumbbell, roughly outlined by a similarly shaped incuse.

(7) Tresceles in a circular incuse.

The weight of these coins varies from 3·032 grammes to 3·630 grammes, with the following particulars :

1. 3·230 grammes. Size 2 cms. X 1·4 cms. This coin is large in size than rest of the specimens. **(Pl. I. 3)**
2. 3·630 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·4 cms. This coin has a chisel mark on the reverse. **(Pl, I. 4)**
3. 3·032 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·2 cms. **(Pl. I. 5)**
4. 3·320 grammes. Size 1·4 cms X 1·2 cms. **(Pl. I. 6)**
5. 3.380 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·4 cms. **(Pl. I. 7)**

These coins thus belong to Class II, Group XI, Variety C, according to Allan's classification[1] of Punch-marked coins. They are similar to Durga Prasad's[2] Serial No. 85, Class A_1 ; and Serial No. 142, Class 38 A_2, both the specimens being from Hinghanghat, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum.[3]

The findspot of these coins is noteworthy. They come from the Umrer Tahsil of the Nagpur District. It is for the second time that this Tahsil has yielded punch-marked silver coins. The earlier hoard came from a village called Sālebhaṭṭi, near Besur, situated on the confluence of the river Nānda and the Kāshi-nālā, being about 12 miles S.S.w. of Umrer. Shri Balchandra Jain has mentioned this hoard in the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. V, published by the Numismatic Society of India. The hoard consisted of 138 coins of which 45 only reached the Nagpur Museum and the coins are said to belong to *BMC* Classes 2 and 6. The entire hoard is not yet published. The present lot of five coins from Nevari also belongs to Class 2, Group XI and is very interesting for the 5th symbol (Text fig. No. 5) on the obverse which occurs on some other punch-marked coins as well found in the Vidarbha region, where Class 2, Group XI type coins seem to be fairly common.

Allan[4] has published one coin from Hinghanghat, dist: Wardha, which he identified as belonging to Class 2, Group XI, Variety C. In this coin the 'fifth' symbol is illustrated by him as "twin fishes to r. in a rectangular pond" and is bracketed with a question mark. The authorities of the Nagpur Museum

1. Allan, *BMC, Ancient India*, p. 56 ; Pl. VI, 22.
2. Durga Prasad. *JPASB*, XXX, 1934, *Numismatic Supplement*, Pl. 16 and Pl. 21.
3. Shri. V. P. Rode, of the Nagpur Museum, informs me that the details and the illustrations from the Nagpur Museum coins by Durga Prasad are in respect of the Hinghanghat hoard of 1924. Only Two coins from that hoard are included in Allan's *Cataloque*.
4. Allan, *BMC, AI.*, Pl. VI, 22.

tell us that this symbol is undoubtedly similar to symbol 5 from the Nevari hoard. Some coins from the Hinghanghat hoard were also studied by Durga Prasad[1], which he included in *op. cit*, as Class 38 A_1; but in doing so he identified the 'fifth' symbol as a '*Swastika* in a square border' which he illustrated as such. But this partial mistake was corrected by Shri. Jain,[2] *op. cit.*, p. 3; and Pl. II, 28, 29 and who further stated that this symbol was a combination of the *Swastika* (to left) and the Taurine symbol (to right) within a rectangular (not square as stated by Jain)[3] border.

While illustrating the Mangrul hoard[4] of punch-marked coins, Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta identified the symbols correctly but in illustrating them he committed the error of placing the symbol in a vertical way. The symbol in order to be read correctly must have the lower orb of the Taurine towards the base and not to left as has been done by him in symbol 4 in his text illustration on page 113 in his paper in *JNSI*, Vol. XIX. This article puts forth an interesting suggestion that the grouping of the 5 symbols on the obverse and 2 reverse symbols as illustrated on our text figure on p. 92 seems to be of a local nature and was confined to some parts of the Deccan. While the Nevari coins support the contention[5] of Dr. Parameshwari Lal as above indicated, a close study of the coins illustrated as No. 5, 6 and 7 on Plate I would prove that in determining the exact character of the 'fifth' symbol i. e. the Taurine and the *Swastika* in a recangular tank there are two important variations. In one the Taurine stands to the right of the *Swastika* and in the second variety the Taurine appears to the left of the *Swastika*.

Another interesting point which deserves notice in connection with the reverse symbols on the Nevari coins is their size. It will be observed that the Tresceles and the *Damaru*-like symbols do not retain the same shape in all these. The circular incuse of the tresceles is sometimes a very large circle, while in some places it is very minute. The outline of the *Damaru*-shaped conjunct squares also varies from specimen to specimen. It will thus be apparent that different punches embodying the same symbols were used while striking them.

1. Durga Prasad, *op. cit.*, pl. 16 and 21.
2. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 3; pl. II, 28, 29.
3. Jain has illustrated this newly identified symbol while discussing the Mangrul hoard.
4. Gupta, P. L, "Some Interesting silver Punch-marked coins from Madhya Pradesh" (No. III. Local Kārshāpaṇa coins from Mangrul), *JNSI*, XIX, pl. II, pp. 112-114.
5. *Ibid*, p. 114.

The photographs of the Nevari coins published herewith were kindly taken by my research student Shri Y. Gopal Reddy, M. A.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

3

A NOTE ON SOME COINS IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

Professor K. D. Bajpai in his article 'A note on some coins and a seal in the Allahabad Museum,'[1] has doubted certain views expressed regarding some copper coins published earlier by me[2] and S. C. Kala[3] in this *Journal.* He disagrees with me chiefly on coin Nos. 1, 3 and 5 with my readings (1) *Hathiparasa* (2) *Malaya Kanam* and (3) *Samu* (*Gupta ?*) and Nos. 2 and 3 of Kala's article with the legends (4) *Kasavi* and (5) *Kasabiya* respectively. So far as his reading *Kaśabikanaṁ* of my coin No. 3 and *Kasabi* of Kala's coin No. 2 is concerned Bajpai is quite correct. But we do not agree regarding the reading and attribution of the remaining coins.

Bajpai assigns coin No. 1 of my article with the legend *Hathiparasa* to Kauśāmbi by presuming without any basis the existence of a bull on its reverse and the presence of Ujjain symbol, ignoring the pole-topped with a fish inside a railing, completely. On the other hand he points out that a similar symbol was found on some Taxila[4] coins. By this statement he contradicts his own view. If its similarity with like Taxila symbol is accepted, this coin may also be attributed to Taxila, which is not correct. Whatever be its actual provenance, I feel that this coin did not originate at Kauśāmbī, because the group of symbols found on this piece has not been noticed earlier on Kauśāmbī coins. However, no definite conclusion about the origin of a coin could be proposed on the basis of only one symbol.

He assigns the coin to *c.* 100 B.C. Bajpai has earlier published three coins of Vangapāla[5] and assigned them to early 2nd cent. B. C. The letters occurring in the legend of those coins and in the present one appear to be of the same period. Brāhmī letters *pa* and *sa* in both the legends are of the same type. Remaining letters of the legend, however,

1. *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 99-101.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 20-23, pl. II. 1-7.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 139-140 pl. II. 9-10.
4. Footnote No. 2, *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 99.
5. *JNSI*, XXIV. pp. 10 ff., Pl. 1 (2-3 and 4):

appear to be chronologically earlier forms, if compared with the alphabets found on different inscriptions of Asoka[1]. All the letters of our coin are in complete similarity with the Aśokan script. And on the basis of this evidence, this coin may be placed in the third century B.C. or early 2nd cent. B. C. and not later than the latter date.

No one denies that the capital of Southern Pāñchāla was Kāmpilya and not Hastinapur. Taking the legend as *Hathipalasa*, as the name of a ruler, Bajpai says "sometimes the left curve in the case of Brāhmī *la* in the Śunga script is not prominent enough to distinguish. See for example some coins of the Pañchāla King Vaṅgapala[2]". But this is not correct. And as the legend on the coins of Vaṅgapala[3] in the photographs is illegible one cannot be sure of the said observation. However, I have examined the coins in original in the possession of Shri Janeshwar Das, which do not show a *la* in which the 'left curve is not prominent to distinguish'. A coin of Vaṅgapāla is deposited also in the Allahabad Museum which is similar to the coins of Shri Das. Further there is no such curvature towards the left in the so called *la* on our coin. The letter concerned is a simple *ra* as found in several epigraphic records as referred earlier in this note. Therefore, his contention, that the legend does not indicate a place-name falls to the ground. There is a place named Hathiāparās in the Gorakhpur District. This is the place of origin of a branch of Saryūpārīṇa Brāhmaṇas popularly known as the Tiwārīs of Hathiāparās. I find practically no difference between these two names e. g. Hathiāparās and *Hathiparasa* of our coin. Both of them could be held as the corrupt forms of *Hastipurasya*. Though they could not be identified yet the identity of their name suggests the possibility of the legend to be a place-name. Every alphabet of the legend is quite legible and there is no room for any restoration. Therefore, the correct reading of the legend is *Hathiparasa* and not *Hathipalasa*. As regards coin no. 5 of Samudragupta in my article, Bajpai holds that that Gupta king did not issue a copper currency. But, we think there is no surprise in the domain of archaeology. This coin may be the only known copper specimen of that King. Instances are not lacking where a single specimen of certain currency of a ruler is so far known.[4] Hence, the issuing of

1. See Ojha, *Bhārtīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, *Lipi* patra I for ह, प, र and स Lipipatra II for थि in अनुसंथिया in the third line from below.
2. *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 100. foot note No. 1.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 10 ff., Pl. 1 (2, 3 and 4).
4. See the coin of Shrī Nandi in my article *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 22.

copper cuins by Samudragupta could not be ruled out. Bajpai himself admits that local traditions have played considerable role in Indian History even in the field of numismatics. It is but in the fitness of things that Rāmagupta should have issued his coins in close imitation of the fabric and type of the coins of his predecessors current in the area.[1] Could it not be applied in the case of Samudragupta too ? Why he has been made an exception to this rule ? Bajpai' reading of the legend as *Supri-yasa* does not appear to be correct. The first word read by him as *su* has no medial sign of *u* in *sa*. To indicate it as *su* the right vertical should be elongated downwards. Due to absence of this sign it should be read as *sa* and not as *su*. The second letter of the legend is read by him as *pri* which I read as *mu* because several instances of *ma* of the same type have come to my notice in the gold coins of Samudra Gupta himself[2]. As regards the sign of medial *u* in *mu* with a curve elongated to left, is also not an impossibility. Such forms of this sign have been noticed in the Gupta script[3]. It might also be due to the paucity of space below. Further the reading of *yasa* is very difficult to accept because of the lack of any trace of these letters. They show a great resemblance to *ga* and *pa* . If they are not *ga* and *pa* they might be held as some symbols but not as *ya* and *sa*. I find five alphabets in the legend whereas Bajpai sees only four. The fifth letter read by me as *da* lies on the extreme right border of the coin. He does not give any specific account for its deletion. In the light of the above discussion the reading of the legend as *Supri-yasa* appears to be quite imaginary.

As regards coin no. 3 of Kala's article[4] I differ from Bajpai's proposition in its reading. He reads the legend as *Kosaviśa*. There occurs simply a *ka* without the medial sign *o* on the top left corner of the coin. On the top right is *sa*. On the lower right corner is *bi* and not *vi*. The fourth letter, occurring on the lower left corner, is a bit confusing. It can be read as *śa* or as *ya* when read from different angles. But I see greater possibility of its being *Ya* because the occurrence of *Śa* at the end of this legend makes no sense. Had *śa* been in place of *sa* and vice versa it would have made some

1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 342.
2. Allan, *Catalogue of coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. 1 (1, 2, 3, 4), pl. IV (2, 7), and also C. S. Upasaka, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 233.
3. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pl. XLV line 29. कु or कुमारदेव्यां and also ह in *prāchīn lipimālā*, Ojha, Lipipatra-16, line 4th alphabet no. 10 from the left.
4. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 139-140 Pl. II. 9-10.

sense as found in the legend कशबिकनं[1]. But it would be a wrong use of *śa* at the end of this legend. If this letter is *ya* it will read *Kasabiya*, meaning 'of Kauśāmbī', as it is meant by Ātimīya, Bhārtīya, Prādeśīya etc. and other words formed with the addition of suffix ईय at the end. Legends ending in *ya* have been noticed in Ujjain coins bearing उजेनीयि or उजेनीय[2]. Therefore, there is no difficulty in accepting the legend as कसबिय or कसबीय.

R.R. TRIPATHI

4

A NEW SILVER COIN OF YAJÑA ŚRĪ SĀTAKARṆI

[Plate I]

During my recent visit to Paithan Shri Balasaheb Patil a keen and enthusiastic lover of antiquities from that ancient town, showed me a silver coin of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, in his possession.

The coin was lying with him for a considerable time. He had sent the coin for chemical wash to the Government Epigraphist of India, Ootakmand who was kind enough to send him a plaster impression of the coin after cleaning it.

In the normal course Shri Balasaheb Patil should have the privilege to deal with this coin, as it was his own find. But knowing my interest in the subject he ungrudgingly placed the coin at my disposal for the decipherment of the legend, and its editing. I am obliged to him for this favour.

This coin from Paithan is the ninth silver coin of the Sātavāhana rulers discovered so far. Out of the eight silver coins found earlier, five were issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

Following is the description of the Paithan silver coin :—

Silver, round, 0.6 inch ; weight 2.25 gm, Findspot—Paithan.

(Pl. I. 8)

Obverse : Bust of king to right ; legend in Brahmi characters. *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Satakanisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted with a crescent, six arched crescented hill to right, river below, sun above. Legend in Brahmi characters. *Siri Yaña Hātakanisa.*

1. *JNSI*, XXV, I, p. 20 Pl. 1-2.
2. Allan, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXVII. 14, 15, and 16.

The Sātavāhanas isssued coins mainly in copper, lead and potin. Silver coins were issued late in their reign and were struck only by four rulers-Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiśṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsiśthīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Śrī Satakarṇi.

Out of the eight silver coins[1] except the restruck silver of Gautamīputra, found earlier, five were issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi. The ninth silver coin now discovered at Paithan is thus the sixth silver coin of this king.

The profile on the obverse of this coin is interesting in many respects. The portrait[2] reveals the king in his prime youth. As compared to the profile on the silver coin from Gujarat, the king shown here is young and energetic. The portrait speaks well of the merit of the artist in skillful designing and naturalist drawing. It obviously suggests Kshatrapa influence. Further, this new coin from Paithan shows that Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi was firmly saddled in power at Paithan the ancient capital of his predecessors. Probably it also speaks of the prosperity of his kingdom which necessitated the issue of a silver currency.

P. V. RANADE.

5

KUSHĀṆA COPPER COINS

During the last rainy season quite a big and interesting hoard of Kushan copper coins was found in the Patiala District of the Punjab. The hoard contained well over five hundred large-size copper coins of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. A large number of these coins were very rusty and the legend on them was not clear and on some of them it had quite disappeared ; while the partraits of kings and deities were partly visible. Luckily about two hundred coins of this hoard were in fairly good condition. Half of these coins were purchased by two coin dealer's of Delhi, while a hundred coins in fairly good condition were acquired by me for the Cabinet of the Rao Harnarain Singh Dhan Singh Collection of Antiquities.

On examination it was found that on coins of Vima Kadphises there existed, the usual standing portrait of the

1. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, pp. Lxxxix-xci, 45, Pl. VII. El. 178, JB ; Bhandarkar, *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 208 ; Chinmulgund, *JNSI*, IX, p. 93ff, X, 22ff ; Katare, *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 126-136 ; XIII, pt. I, pp. 46-52 ; Trivedi, XIV, pt. I, pp. 1-4.
2. Cf. Sohoni, 'Notes on Sātavāhana bust coinage,' *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 100-103.

king on obverse and Śiva and Bull on the reverse. The wt. of the twenty one ooins varied from 250 grs. to 265 grs.

The Coins of Kanishka have a standing king on obverse as usual, while on the reverse there is an extensive gallary of deities except the very rare Buddha. Probably the Buddha Coin of Kanishka was struck for the eastern extremity of his Empire and the Gandhara province, where the Budhistic Cult was rather more popular and acceptable than in this part of the Madhyadesha where our present hoard was discovered. From times of the immigration of the Aryans, during the classical period and even under Asoka, Kanishka and Harśa Vardhan brahmanical influence predominated here i.e. between the Ravi and the Jumna tract. This is also borne out by the discovery of a good many stone images of Hindu gods and goddesses from this region.

The deities found on Kanishka's copper coins under reference are OAΔO, OHPO. MIIPO, MIPO, MAO, NANA and AθPO. OHPO is both four-armed and two armed. The weights of the Kanishka coins varies from 250 grains to 270 grains (only one coin weighing 270 grains). The size of these coins varies from .9″ to 1.05″.

The composition and condition of the hoard under reference points that these coins had, probably, been buried towards the end of Kanishka's reign i.e. sometime before 150 A.D., as the hoard does not contain even a single coin of the post-Kanishka period.

These coins had been sold to a dealer of Patiala about three months ago. It is a pity that the exact site of this important find could not be known. The dealer unfortunately kept no record of the deal, the seller and his whereabouts, perhaps for fear of the wrong impression of the Treasure Trove Act. there is a general impression among the people that Treasure Troves are confiscated by the Govt. and the owner or the discoveror are imprisoned. This impression has unfortunately led to the loss of many a valuable 'historic coin hoard which are often discovered all over the country. The coins are often melted and information is supressed and thus our heritage is lost to the country and history. The only remedy is that the Union Govt. and the State Govts. should make it widely known to the people that if need be only a part or whole of the hoard under Treasure Trove would be purchased by the Govt. on full payment of the metallic value. Thus something must be done to allay fear in this direction.

UTTAM SINGH RAO.

7163A

6

COINS IN KĀLIDĀSA'S MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRAṀ

Kālidāsa is silent about the nature of currency or monetary transactions of his time. This is natural, since such topics do not form a part of the beauties of nature or the feelings of human mind, with which a poet is primarily concerned, and specially in ancient India, where there were set rules about the theme of expression (*rasa*) on which a poem was to be based. Incidentally, however, while describing the activities of a ruler's life, Kālidāsa, in one of his notable works makes mention of certain monetary gifts. To a student of ancient Indian numismatics, the reference is not bereft of significance.

In the beginning of act V of the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, there is an interesting discourse between Udyānapālikā and Sārasaka. Thus Udyānapālika says, "Sārasaka, where are you about to go ?"

Sārasaka replies, "Madhukārikā, daily *dakshiṇā* has to be given to Brāhmaṇas versed in the vedic lore. To give that in the hand of the respected family priest."

Then Madhukārikā asks, "For what reason ?"

Sārasaka says, "Even since the queen heard that Prince Vasumitra was appointed by Senāpati (Pushyamitra) to guard the sacrificial horse, she is bestowing *dakshiṇā* amounting to eighteen gold coins to those worthy of it, in order to secure for him long life. (*Tasyāurnimittaṁ ashṭādaśa suvarṇa parimāṇāṁ dakshiṇāṁ devī dakshiṇīyath parigrāhayati*).

The word *suvarṇa* referred to above evidently stands for gold coin and it has been translated as such. About the antiquity of gold coins in India, there are widely divergent views. But if the evidence of archaeology is of any consequence, it will have to be admitted that the earliest monetary issues of gold go back to the days of Kushāṇa king Kadphises II and not to a period earlier than that.* No coin, which can be definitely shown to be earlier than that of the Kushāṇas has so far been discovered. While stratigraphic evidence of Indian excavations assigns earliest gold coins to Kushāṇa levels, the earliest epigraphic reference to gold coins comes only from inscriptions

*This statement of the author is not correct. Chronologically, the earliest known gold coins were issued by the Indo-Greeks. Among them, Diodotus I and II, Euthedemus I, Eucratides I, and Menander are known to have issued gold coins, and if the former three are taken as the kings of Bactria, not of India proper, at least Eucratides I and Menander must be accepted as Indian kings i.e., kings ruling over Indian territory.

—[*Editor*]

of the post-Kushāṇa period. In the presence of such positive evidence about the period of prevalence of gold coins, doubtful references to gold coins in religious and semi-religious texts of earlier periods—in works that could have been subjected to enormous changes and interpolations in course of times, need not be taken too seriously.

If gold coins were not in circulation in a period earlier than that of the Kushāṇas, Pushyamitra Śuṅga or his son could not have witnessed the use of gold coins,[1] as referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*. Unless it is accepted that the term *suvarṇa* mentioned by Kālidāsa stands merely for a piece of gold and not for coin—a conclusion that neither receives support from the context nor makes much sense—or that the use of gold coins mentioned by him is only a poetic imagination and has nothing to do with reality, it will ultimately follow that Kālidāsa was aware of the use of gold coins for gifts and hence eventually for commercial transactions. Such a practice, historically speaking, could be possible only in the Kushāṇa or Gupta period. To take the indulgence of a further deduction, the reference of the use of gold coins in the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* tends to show that Kālidāsa could not be a contemporary of Agnimitra, as advocated by a strong group of scholars, but that he flourished in a later period, anywhere in between the date of Kadphises II and Pulakeśin II.

S. C. RAY

7

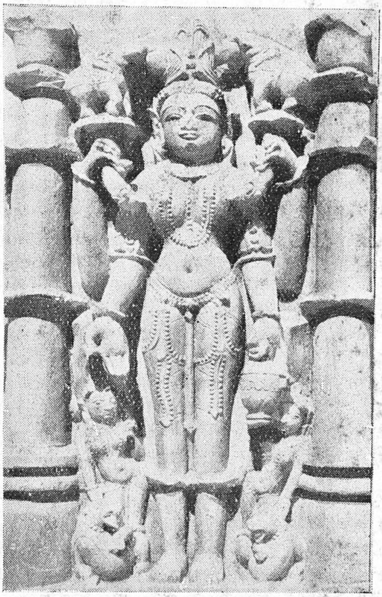
SIMHAVĀHINĪ LAKSHMĪ

Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu and the goddess of wealth and prosperity, has always occupied an important place in our religion and art. The iconographic texts usually describe her as *padmahastā* and *padmāsanā*,[2] in contrast to the goddess Durgā who is provided with a lion for her *vāhana*. Consequently, we are intrigued to notice on the reverse of certain Gupta coins a

1. A rectangular gold plated copper coin (plated on one side only) with one letter on the gilt side was discovered at the ancient University of Nālandā. In the opinion of the officer in charge of the site, it was a coin issued by Senāpati Pushyamitra Śuṅga for distribution to the Buddhist monks during the performance of an *Aśvamedha* ceremony, *AR, ASI*, 1930-34, part II, p. 280. But the supposition is wholly unwarranted. A depth of 9' 2" below the *chaitya* site No. 12 at Nālandā where the coin was found, does not at all contain occupational deposits of the 2nd century B. C., nor Pushyamitra Śuṅga is known to have had any association with Nālandā. It is also difficult to accept the presumption that Buddhists could take part in an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which had much of *hiṁsā* attached to it and that the Brahmins would tolerate the participation of Buddhist monks in their own rituals.

2. Cf. *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* : लक्ष्मीः पद्मासनासीना अम्बुजं दक्षिणौ हस्ते

Simhavāhinī Gaja-Lakshmī
from Viśwanātha Temple, Khajuraho



Simhavāhinī Lakshmī
from Khajuraho Museum

goddess holding lotus in her hands, but riding a lion.[1] She has not been identified with certainty and the numismatists have usually described her as 'Lakshmī or Ambikā'.[2]

There is the same uncertainty about a coin type of Azes I. Whitehead describes its obverse as 'Goddess Lakshmī standing to front with flower in raised right hand'.[3] Gardner is not so sure. According to him, we have on the obverse 'a female deity facing, clad in himation, holds in raised right hand flower, stands on lotus ; besides lion (?) (Lakshmī ?).[4] Coomarswamy identifies her with Lakshmī,[5] but J. N. Banerjea believes that she is Durgā. The latter writes, 'the forepart of the lion is recognizable, and this makes it highly probable that we find here a representation of Durgā Simhavāhinī'. He does concede that 'the lotus at her feet and the same flower in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Lakshmī', but on the strength of *Brihatsamhitā* and other texts he feels disposed to identify her with Durgā.[6]

Hemādri has, however, referred to a type of Lakshmī that has lion for her *vāhana*. Bhattacharya, who drew our attention to this important reference, was not aware of any iconographic representation of this type, and he states that 'no image of this description has yet come down to us'.[7] Two years ago, we happened to notice an interesting image of Simhavāhinī Gaja-Lakshmī at Khajuraho. It is located in a niche in the basement of the north-eastern corner shrine of the Viśvanātha Temple (see attached plate). The goddess is seated on a high pedestal in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, with the right leg hanging down and the left folded up. She has four hands. The lower right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* and carries an *akshamālā*, while the lower left holds an *amritaghaṭa*. Both the upper hands carry lotus stalks. Two elephants, one on either side of the goddess, are performing the ceremonial *abhisheka*, with upturned jars held by their trunks. The figure of a couchant lion is noticed below the *āsana*.[8]

1. Viz., the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I and the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.
2. Cf. Allan, J., *Catalogue of Gupta Coins in British Museum*, pp. LXXII-III ; LXXXIII.
3. Whitehead, R. B., *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, vol. I. p. 129, No. 30 ; pl. XII, No. 308.
4. Gardner, P., *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, p. 85 ; pl. XIX. He writes 'It is probable that the goddess...is either Pārvatī...or Lakshmī' (p. LIX).
5. Coomaraswamy, A., Early Indian Iconography (*Eastern Art*, vol. I, p. 178).
6. Banerjea., J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (I edn.) pp. 134-5.
7. Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian Images*, Part I, p. 37.
8. Plate I. Cf. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.* XXIII Session,

Subsequently, more images of this variety came to our notice from the same site. One of them is preserved in the local museum, No. 817 (see attached plate). It depicts the goddess as standing in *samabhanga* pose, with the usual dress and ornaments. She, too, has four hands. The two upper hands grasp lotus stalks, while the lower right and left hands are shown respectively, in *varadamudrā* and as holding the flask. The elephants giving her the bath are sculptured at the top--standing on conventional lotus leaves. Lower down, on each side of the goddess, we have a female *chāmaradhāriṇī*, and by her side a lion, seated facing each other.[1]

There is possibly a still more interesting panel inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Kaṇḍariyā Temple. It depicts the god as seated on a plain round seat, with his consort sitting on his thigh. The right leg of the male deity and the left one of the goddess are hanging down–the latter resting on the back of a lion. The head and the right hands of the male deity are broken. With the lower left hand he is embracing the *devī*, and with the upper hand he is holding a *chakra*. The presence of this *āyudha* may suggest that here we have a representation of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The depiction of elephants performing the *abhisheka* in the first two cases and that of *chakra* in the third leads us to conclude that all the three images described above are those of Lakshmī, and these examples should solve the problem of the identity of the goddess on the coins referred to above. D. N. Shukla designates the type as 'Śaivī Lakshmī'—to distinguish her from 'Vaishṇavī Lakshmī',[2] but he has not cited any authority for this nomenclature. Moreover, the third image described above proves her association with Vishṇu himself.

R. K. DIKSHIT

8

A DATED SILVER COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I IN WATSON MUSEUM, RAJKOT

[Plate I]

Watson Museum, Rajkot (Gujarat state), has a rich collection of ancient coins. I have found the coin discussed in this paper while preparing an exhaustive catalogue of the Gupta silver coins of this Museum. These silver coins belong to the Gupta silver coinage of the western provinces and represent a number of types and varieties. The coin under discussion is a unique one in this collection.

1. Plate II.
2. Shukla, D. N., *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, p. 311.

The original find-spot of the coin is not recorded. A hoard of about 470 Gupta silver coins was received from Paliād in Bhāvanagar District. Presumably this coin hailed from this or some other part of Saurāshṭra.

The present coin resembles the other known Gupta coins of western India. It measures 1.49 cms. (0.35 inches) in diameter and weighs 1.94 grammes (30 grains).

It is described as follows :

(Pl. I. 12)

Obv. Bust of King facing r., with typical Kshatrapa features, truncated at the top, behind the head and above the curly hair, *Va.* 100 (+) 7.

Rev. Garuḍa with outspread wings ; above, to the left of Garuḍa a cluster of seven dots ; below, a wavy line ; border of dots to the circular legend, begins at IV and runs as follows :

Para- ... ... *raja Sra Pa Ku* [*mar*] *gupta Mahandraditya.*

The truncated portion as gathered from the legends on the other coins of this class may be either *ma Bhāgavata Rājādhi* or *ma Bhāgavata Mahārājādhi.* Notice the omission of *mar* after *Ku* and insertion of *Pa* before *Ku* in the legend, which may have happened by oversight.[1] The insertion of the signs of medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* is conspicuous by its absence as on the other Gupta silver coins bearing the characters of this size.

In view of the size of the coin and space left by the truncated portion in the legend it seems probable that the truncated portion belonged to the *Mahārājādhirāja* type of the legend.

In Western Kshatrapa coins, the date engraved behind the bust of king is facing right,[2] while in this coin, the date, though engraved behind the bust, is facing left as in the case of the dated silver coins of Chandragupta II, of western provinces.[3]

The known dates of the reign of Kumāragupta I range from G. E. 96[4] to G. E. 136.[5] The date of the coin described here is G. E. 107 which falls within the known range. It corresponds to 426-27 A. D.

1. *CGD.* Cat. Nos. 368 to 384, pp. 105 to 107.
2. *CAD*, Pl. XI Nos. 300, 306, etc.
3. *CGD*, Cat. Nos. 133, 134, 136, pp. 49-50, pl. X Nos. 14, 15, 17.
4. *CII*, Vol. III Op. Cit No. 10.
5. *JASB*, 1894, p. 175.

Among the Gupta silver coins of Western type, this coin falls under Class-I[1] and probably belongs to Variety A among the four varieties of that class.

On the coins (of this type) known hitherto, the date is rarely found though the word *Varsh(e)* is read[2] and even when the word *Varsh(e)* is followed by a numeral, the complete number of the year is hardly legible.[3] In view of this situation, the complete occurrence and reading of the date on this coin deserves special consideration.

B. P. DANI

9

A SO-CALLED LYRIST TYPE COPPER COIN

Bratindra Nath Mukherjee has published a copper coin from the collection of Sri S. K. Saraswati and, on the basis of palaeography, obverse and reverse and the fabric and general execution of the devices, attributed it to the Gupta period.[4] It is a round copper piece weighing 3.343 gms. (about 52 grains) and its provenance is unknown. Mukherjee's description of the coin is as follows :[5]

Obv. "King seated (probably on a couch), playing on a lyre, wearing close-fitting coat and trousers, bangles, ear-rings and necklace ; border of dots ; fragmentary legend in Gupta character on the side of the field just before the left knee of the king—*Nebūja.*

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) seated facing on lotus, nimbate, wearing girdle, bangles and necklace, holding lotus and fillet respectively in her right and left hands ; border of dots ; fragmentary legend in Gupta characters...*Jaṇama.*"

In the absense of definite help from the legends, Mukherjee puts some suggestions on other grounds. He takes it to be a lyrist type in copper and hence attributable to Samudragupta or Kumāragupta I, for only these two Gupta kings are known to have issued coins of this type in gold. To him, if it could be of Samudragupta, 'great importance should be attached' to it, for, 'in that case, Samudragupta should be considered to have been the originator of the Gupta copper

1. *Guptakālīna Mudrāyen* (Hindi) by A. S. Altekar, Ch. 9. pp. 153-154.
2. *CGD*, Cat. Nos. 258, 259, pl. XVI, Nos. 1, 2.
3. *ASI*, *AR*, 1923-24, p. 124, pl. XLI (b).
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, 1959, No. 1, p. 35,
5. Ibid, p. 35,

series'.[1] But if it is attributed to Kumāragupta I, who seems to have better claim in his opinion, it is of great interest because in that case 'it should be considered to be a new style of copper coins of the said king'.[2] The reason for the latter's better claim is said to be 'the reverse type (goddess seated on lotus), occuring on our coin, which is known to have appeared on the Gupta gold issues for the first time during the reign of Chandragupta II.'[3]

Conscious, however, of obvious differences between this and lyrist type of Gupta coins, Mukherjee has offered two more alternative suggestions, i.e., this piece may have been 'minted by a chief (having the name Nebūja occuring on the obverse or Jaṇama appearing on the reverse (?), pretending independence' or in the alternative, which is not altogether impossible, issued in imitation of the lyrist-type of Gupta gold coins during that period 'by a rich[4] private individual, probably a Banker'.[5] And thus to him this coin is a unique one in the whole range of Indian numismatics.[6]

We feel that none of the four hypotheses of Mukherjee are convincing. Even a general observation of the plate[7] makes it clear that it can be any thing but a specimen of Gupta numismatic art. The kings on the Gupta Lyrist-type are never seen in this pose. Execution of the goddess on the reverse also is quite different. Moreover, from the obverse in the plate the reading proposed cannot be confirmed. The reverse legend is not engraved in the usual way. It is written in the reverse manner, which goes against the established numismatic conventions of the Gupta period.

It seems that Mr. Mukherjee did not care to consult other series of coins, perhaps because he was too confident about his Gupta identification of it. An exactly similar type, represented by two specimens, was published by Cunningham.[8] It is an Ephthalite copper coin. The coin under reference is the third specimen of this type. The legend on the reverse of it is the same as on Cunningham's coin. He describes it as follows :[9]

1. Ibid, p. 35.
2. Ibid, p. 35.
3. Ibid, p. 36.
4. Ibid, p. 36.
5. Ibid, p. 36.
6. Ibid, p. 36.
7. Ibid, pl. I, facing p. 36.
8. 'Later Indo-Scythians', *NC*, 1894, p. 286 ; pl. IX, 13.
9. Ibid, p. 286.

Obv. "King seated to front, right hand on hip, left hand holding sceptre.

Rev. Seated goddess, holding flower in the left hand. Indian legend written reversed *Jayatu Śri Narendra.*"

As Cunningham's coin weighs 57 grains or 3.693 gms., all the coins of this type appear to belong to the same weight group.

Actually it is a sceptre which Mukherjee mistook for a lyre in the king's left hand. Probably the object in king's right hand is the upper portion of the hilt of a dagger or a small sword.

The provenance of these coins is not mentioned by Cunningham but at one place[1] he suggests its origin towards north-west India.

Kalhaṇa mentions two kings of Kashmir bearing the epithet Narendrāditya,[2] first Khiṁkhila Narendrāditya and the second Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya, both in the line of Mihirakula.[3] Cunningham reports about a silver coin bearing the name *Devashāhī Khiṅggila*[4] and identifies Khiṅggila with Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya of Kalhaṇa.[5] Stein refers to a coin of 'Raja Lakhana (?) Udayāditya mentioned by Cunningham,[6] and opines that most probably 'by the Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya of the chronicle is meant the same ruler who calls himself Laḥkhana Udayāditya on his coins'.[7] Cunningham also notes the striking resemblance in type, size and general fabric of this coin with the unique coin of Deva Shāhi Khiṅggila.[8] On the basis of this resemblance, Stein is inclined to identify the two. He refers to the copper coin in the following words[9] :

"But it is certainly curious that copper coins closely resembling in type the coins of the above-mentioned Ephthalite rulers actually show the name Narendra."

Thus Stein is inclined to attribute these copper coins to Deva Shahi Khiṅggila and Rājā Laḥkhana Udayāditya, both being one and the same person.

1. Ibid, p. 266.
2. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. bk 3rd., Note 383 and 83.
3. Ibid, Vol. I, bk. 3rd.
4. Cunningham, Loc. cit. p. 265,
5. Ibid, p. 279.
6. Ibid, p. 265.
7. Stein, Ibid, Note 383.
8. Cunningham, Loc. cit. p. 279.
9. Ibid, note 383.

Stein observes that 'as in the case of Khiṅkhila, so we have here an Indian appellation used by the side of the foreign name Laḫkhana. Why this Indian name should have been differently recorded by K (i. e. Kalhaṇa), is a question which our present materials do not permit us to answer.'[1] It appears that some suggestions have been offered to equate this Laḫkana with the Lae-Lih of the Chinese sources, who was the leader of the Hūṇa invasion which snatched away the kingdom of Gandhara from the Kidar Kushāṇas. But Dr. Altekar is opposed to this view.[2] He argues that in so early a period, such Indianization of the coins is not possible, and he puts Lakhana Udayāditya of coins after c. 550 A. D.

Stein's view regarding the identity of Khinggila and Lakhana however, is very improbable. Simply on the basis of the resemblance 'in type and size and general fabric' it is not safe to identify the two kings bearing two different personal names Khinggila and Laḫkhana (or Lakhana) and two distinct epithets Narendrāditya and Udayāditya. He himself admits that 'we have no means at present to account for the difference of the second name, or to explain why this Ephthalite prince should have found his place in Kalhaṇa's list far away from Khinkhila and Mihirakula, with whom his name clearly connects him.'[3] By combining the two evidences of numismatics and Kalhaṇa, it may be possible to identify the Narendra of the copper coins with the Deva Shāhi Khinggila of the silver coin. Cunningham, however, does not seem to share this view. He separates the coins of Deva Shahi Khinggila and those of Deva Shahi and of Narendra etc., and, at one place, observes that 'all that can be said about them (Deva Shahi and Narendra etc.) is, that they must have flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries in the countries bordering upon India, or even in the N. W. of India itself.'[4]

T. P. VERMA

10

AN UNIDENTIFIED COIN OF BULL & HORSEMAN TYPE

[Plate II]

A treasure trove hoard of 41 billon coins belonging to the following Kings as entered in the Accession Register, was discovered in the Bijnor district of U. P. in the year 1917 :—

1. 1 Coin of Anaṅgapāla Deva of the Tomara dynasty (A. D. 1049-79).

1. Ibid, 83.
2. *JNSI*, IX, p. 15.
3. Stein, loc. cit. 83.
4. Cunningham, loc. cit. p. 98.

2. 1 Coin of Kirtivarma Deva of the Chandella dynasty of Bundelkhand (A. D. 1055-1100).
3. 21 Coins of Iltutmish (A. D. 1210-1235).
4. 2 „ of Firoz Shāh I (A. D. 1235).
5. 2 „ of Raziyya (A. D. 1236-1240).
6. 2 „ of Masaūd Shāh (A. D. 1242-1246).
7. 4 „ Balban (A. D. 1266-1287).
8. 8 „ of doubtful Kings.

All the other coins of this hoard were deciphered but this particular coin was incorrectly assigned and it was lying in a small packet since long. The legend on this coin is inscribed in the old Devanāgarī script and it runs as under :—

Obv.	**Rev.**
The legend begins from the forelegs of the recumbent bull seated left and it ends over his hump :	In a beaded border a Chauhan horsemen to right. In-front of the horse :
साउप्रामसा ··	(ह)मीरः **(Pl. II)**
	Weight 52 grs.

The legend (ह)मीर on the reverse which can be taken as Ameer (امیر) was a title frequently used by the early Sultāns of Dehli both on the obverse and reverse of their coins. The legend हमीर can be found on the reverse of coins No. 54 to 67, 73 to 80, and 82 to 87 of Iltutmish, No. 155 to 158 of his son Firoz I, No. 164 to 166 of his daughter Raziyya, No. 173 to 180 of his other son Bahram Shāh and on many other coins in the Nelson Wrights' *Catalogue of the Sultans of Dehli* in the Dehli Museum. On the strength of the legend on the obverse of this coin, viz. *Sā Uprām Sā,* I tried to assign this coin to any Sultan of the Turk dynasty but failed. This legend was shown to many experts of the old Devanāgarī script such as V. V. Mirashi, K. D. Bajpai and others and they have unanimously deciphered it as :—

Sā Uprām Sā

Unfortunately none of them has been able to assign this coin to any ruler of that period. Another coin of the same variety has been illustrated by Cunningham at p. 88, No. 22, Pl. IX of his *Coins of Mediaeval India.* The legend was doubtfully deciphered by him as : *Mau+Sri Uvāme?* which does not

convey any sense. I am publishing enlarged photographs of this coin with the hope that some one might be able to solve this mystery and assign the coin to any particular king.*

C. R. SINGHAL

*[*Note*—Shri Singhal deserves our thanks for bringing to light an interesting coin. He is quite right in suggesting that the coin belonged to the series of the Turk dynasty of the Delhi Sultans. But he could not locate the ruler to whom it could be atributed.

It may be pointed out that the ruler represented in the hoard belongs to the period between 1210 and 1287 A. D. with gaps between (i) 1240 and 1242 and (ii) 1246 and 1266 A. D. Though not neccessarily, but generally in a hoard hardly any intermediatery ruler or rulers are found unrepresented unless their reigns are extremely short. Here the hoard has been found in an area which is at not a very long distance from Delhi; and as such it is extremely unlikely that the coins of the intermediate rulers Bahram Shah (1240-1242 A. D.) and Nasiruddin Mahmud I (1246-1266 A. D.) did not reach the area. With this assumption, I feel that the present coin belongs to Bahram Shah and the legend may be read as *Sāu Vrām Sā.* In my reading what has been read by Singhal as *pra* may well be read a *vra.* In fact Cunningham has read the letter as *va* ; only he has missed or ignored the stroke of the *ref* at the lower end of the letter. The legend is meant for *Shah Bahrām Shāh.*

The coins of Bahram Shah of the horseman-bull type are known so far only with the legends *Suritāṇa Srī muajdī* (Coin 173) or *Muij* (coin 179 of *DMC*) giving first part of his name. But we have the coins of similar type of Iltutmish, where we find *Samsadī* (Coin 67B) the first part of his name as well as *(I)ltitim(ish)* (Coins 78-80) the later part of the name. So it is not unlikely that the coins of other rulers of the dynasty also used later part of their issuer's names.

However the suggestion is tentative. Scholars are invited to express their opinion. *P. L. Gupta*].

11

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF ADL-GHAYASI

Certain small copper coins of the Delhi Sultan series issued from the mints Delhi, Sultanpur, Fakhrabad and Deogir bear on the obverse the legend *Adl-Ghiyāsī.* They are all of similar fabric and as such they are the issues of a ruler named

Ghiyās-ud-dīn. Among the Sultans of Delhi, there are two rulers called Ghiyās-ud-dīn. One was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, who ruled between 664 and 686 A. H. and the other was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq I, who ruled between 720 and 725 A.H.

Edward Thomas has assigned the *Adl-Ghiyāsī* coins of Delhi mint to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, without giving any reason.[1] Nelson Wright has accepted his attribution[2] and attributed the coins of Sultanpur mint also to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban[3]. He located Sultanpur somewhere in or near the province of Bengal, which was the scene of principal expeditions during the reign of Balban. In his support, he has cited a silver of Balban, which has a marginal legend that he has read as—

ضربت هذا بخطه سلطانپور...... تسع و تسعين و ستماوية

i. e. struck in the district af Sultanpur......in the year 679 A.H. But H. Nevil placed Sultanpur in the Punjab, where Balban was governor, just before his assumption of the royalty.[4] He located the place on the east bank of the river Beas, on Lahore-Delhi Road. According to him this town is frequently mentioned by the historians during the reign of Balban.

The coin of Fakhrabad mint is also assigned to Balban by Whitehead, who published it.[5] But it remains unidentified so far.

The coin of the fourth mint Deogir was published by E.E. Speight and he assigned it to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq I.[6]

Thus the *Adl-Ghiyāsī* coins are attributed to both the Ghiyās-ud-dīns, while they really belong to only one of them. Here we propose to find out the correct attribution.

The coins of Delhi mint are of no help in the matter, as they may be attributed to both of the Ghiyas-ud-dins with equal force, in absence of any positive evidence, Delhi being the capital of both of them. The coins of the other three mints may lead to some conclusion, if we are able to locate them properly and establish the occupation of all the three places by one and the same ruler.

So for the locality of Fakhrabad is unidentified and the location of Sultaupur is uncertain. So, it is only Deogir, which may help in tracking the correct attribution.

1. *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 135, coin No. 115, pl. II, 45.
2. *IMC*, II, Coin No. 160.
3. *NS*, I, p. 3.
4. *NS*, XXXV.
5. *NS*, XIV, p. 565.
6. *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 286 ; Coins 31 and 33.

By all means the location of Deogir in the Deccan is certain and undisputed. And we also know that Deogir was attacked for the first time by Alauddin Muhammad Khilji and then by his successor Mubarak Shah Khilji and finally by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq. His armies were led by his son Fakhruddin Juna, who later assumed the title of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. As such there is no possibility of *Adl-Ghiyāsī* of Deogir mint having been issued by Balban. It is only Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq, who would have issued it ; and Speight had rightly anticipated it.

Once we admit that *Adl-Ghiyāsī* of Deogir mint was issued by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, we should also admit that the attribution of the *Adl Ghiyāsī* coins of Delhi, Sultanpur and Fakhrabad to Balban was not correct. They should also be attributed to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq.

Here, it would be pertinent to point out that I have obtained an *Adl-Ghīyāsī* of Sultanpur at Warangal and of Fakhrabad at Hyderabad. These coins are fair indications that these two mints were also situated in Deccan, which was beyond the reach of Balban.

As regards the identity of Sultanpur in Deccan, I hardly need say that Warangal, the find-place of my Sultanpur coin, itself was named Sultanpur by Fakhruddin Juna (Muhammad Tūghlaq) during the reign of his father Ghayas-ud-din Tughlaq. Fakhrabad cannot be precisely located at the moment ; but very likely it was situated not far from Hyderabad and was named after Fakhruddin Juna.

With the location of all the three mints Deogir, Sultanpur and Fakhrabad in Deccan, it comes out that on the eve of the conquest of Deccan by the armies of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq, the *Adl-Ghīyāsī* coins were issued from these places on the pattern of Delhi *Adl-Ghiyāsī*.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

NOTES & NEWS

1

Mughal Coins under the Sea

About seven years back, a professional underwater film-maker went under the sea about ten miles off the south coast of Ceylon, with a view to shoot the world underlying. As he was approaching the Great Basses reef, on which the British had built a lighthouse some hundred years ago, he was involved in a terrifying game of bluff with a prowling shark down in the savage currents of the reef. At that time he noticed a cannon and a great cluster of coins lying in the bed of the sea. Since there was no time for the cameraman for any diving as the threatening monsoon clouds were gathering on the horizon, he came back without any investigation.

At that spot the monsoon gales turn the tropical water of the Arabian Sea into a foaming maelstorm as they rush past into the Bay of Bengal, and create a whirling death-trap for the sea-farers. It is, therefore, believed that the sea-bed there is littered with wrecks of all ages, and few sea-faring nations have escaped without any loss in that area.

The news brought by the cameraman evoked the interest of Peter Throckmorton, the renowned underwater treasure-hunter. He had earlier discovered a trading ship of the Bronze age, which sank off the coast of Turkey in about 1200 B. C. He immediately organised an expedition and reached the spot. As he began the salvage work near the reef, he found a small brass cannon, and with the progress of the work came out twenty-two other cannons, some of them eight feet long. Along with them were also discovered many cannon-balls and iron grenades with fuses fixed.

But, for the numismatists, the most interesting discovery was of silver coins, enmassed like bags. Nine such masses, each weighing thirty pounds and containing 1000 coins were discovered. Throckmorton thinks that there may still be hundred such masses more to be salvaged.

All the salvaged coins are rupee and half-rupee of Aurangzeb of Surat mint and all of them have the same date—1113 A. H. They are all in perfect mint condition, except those which were in direct contact of the sea-water and had got the coating of coral. Such coins are slightly

damaged. Some of the coins were found adhering with hemp fabric of the bags in which they were originally kept. One of these salvaged masses, in its original form, has now been put on display in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington (U.S.A.).

The discoverers think that the wreck they have discovered with the cannons and coins might be a ship of war of the Dutch, who were the masters of Ceylon at that time i.e. in 1113 A.H. (1702 A.D.) or of British, who were bidding for supremacy. They also see the possibility of its being a pirate craft. But my friends in London, Mr. C. H. Biddulph and Dr. John Walker, think that it was possibly a Mughal ship which was going to trade in Ceylon with the Chinese crafts coming from the far-east with silk, spices etc.

P. L. GUPTA

2

The Kenndy Half Dollar

The Numismatic Society of India thankfully acknowledges the gift of two Kennedy half dollars made to it by the Director, Money Museum, National Bank of Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. The short note on the Kennedy half dollar, given below, is an adaptation from the pamphlet issued by the Treasury Department, Washington, U. S. A.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was inaugurated President of the United States on January 20, 1961, and served not quite three full years of his term of office. His untimely death on November 22, 1963, resulted in such an outpouring of public sentiment that President Johnson, on December 10, 1963, sent to the Congress legislation authorizing the Treasury Department to mint new 50-cent pieces bearing the likeness of his predecessor.

Legislative authority is necessary to change a coin design which has not been in effect for the statutory 25-year period. Congress gave its overwhelming approval to the President's recommendation and on December 30, 1963, Public Law No. 88-256 was enacted directing the Mint to proceed with the production of the new design. The first of the John F. Kennedy half dollars for general circulation purposes were struck at the Mints in Philadelphia and Denver on February 11, 1964. The half dollar was selected because this would add another Presidential portrait to a coin of regular issue.

In the center of the obverse, or face of the coin, is a strong but simple bust of the late President. Above, and around the border is the word *Liberty*. Just below the bust is the motto,

In God We Trust, which appears on all United States coins of current issue. The date is at the bottom of the coin, around the border.

The Presidential Coat of Arms forms the motif for the reverse, or back of the coin. It is the central part of the Presidential Seal, the only difference being that the words *Seal of the President of the United States* have been removed and in their place are inscriptions required by law to appear on all United States coins : the words *United States of America,* above, around the border, and the denomination, *Half Dollar,* around the bottom border. Other requirements already incorporated in the Coat of Arms are the eagle, and *E Pluribus Unum,* which appears on the ribbon above the eagle's head.

The Kennedy coin had its beginnings when official sculptors were engaged in preparing a new medal for the historic series of Presidential pieces manufactured in bronze for sale to the public. The Kennedy portrait is an adaptation from the model prepared for the new medal by Gilroy Roberts—the Chief Sculptor of United States Mint and a member of Philadelphia Staff for many years. The Coat of Arms of the President of United States—an integral part of the reverse design of Presidential Medal executed by Frank Gasparro, also of Philadelphia staff—was chosen as the companion side for the half dollar.

The Coat of Arms depicts the American Eagle holding in its right talon an olive branch of peace, and in the left talon, arrows for defense. Symbolism derived from the Thirteen Original States governs the number of olive leaves, berries, arrows, stars and cloud puffs. The upper part of the flag or shield upon the breast of the eagle represents the Congress binding the Colonies into an entity. The vertical stripes complete the motif of the Flag of the United States. Each State of the Nation is represented in the 50-star amulet which rings the whole. The theme of the device is punctuated by the motto *E Pluribus Unum,* which appears on the ribbon above the eagle's head. Translated "One out of Many," it refers to the unity of the States and the strength of the Nation.

The Presidential Seal originated during the Administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes, apparently as a rendering of the Great Seal of the United States. There was no known basis in law for the Coat of Arms and the Seal which had been used by Presidents since 1880 and which was reproduced on the Presidential Flag. President Harry S. Truman, when he signed the Executive Order of October 25, 1945, containing the official description, established for the first time a legal definition of

the President's Coat of Arms and his Seal. According to heraldic custom, the eagle on a Coat of Arms, unless otherwise specified in the heraldic description, is always made to face to its own right. There is no explanation for the eagle facing to its own left in the case of the President's Coat of Arms. To conform to heraldic custom, and since there was no authority other than usage for the former Presidential Coat of Arms, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had asked that it be redesigned. The designs reached Washington after the President's death. In the new Coat of Arms, Seal and Flag, the eagle not only faces to its right—the direction of honor—but also toward the olive branches of peace which it holds in its right talon. Formerly, the eagle faced toward the arrows in its left talon.

The Kennedy half dollar is not a commemorative coin. Such commemorative coins are authorized by special acts of Congress, manufactured in limited quantities and sold at a profit by the private organizations sponsoring the issues. The Kennedy coin is made for regular distribution and the design will remain in effect for 25 years, as prescribed by law, unless the Congress authorizes a change in the interim. It takes the place of the Franklin design, which first appeared in 1948.

(See **Plate III** for the Kennedy Half Dollar)

"Interested in ancient fine condition silver, copper coins—preferably Indo-Greek, Parthian, Sassanian, Gupta, Mughal, Zodiac and others. Also interested in War Medals and other Medals of all kinds.

Please write to—

Santosh Kumar

8/10 "G" Block, Connaught Circus, Radial Road No. 2, New Delhi, 1; Life Member, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi."

COMMUNICATIONS

1

4th April, 1964.

Sir,

When Were the Scales Lost ?

Reference Shri Gattani's reply to the above query, raised, by Shri S. S. Dave, which appeared in the *JNSI*, Vol. XXV pages 256-258. The reply contains very interesting and useful information. Perhaps it will be of help if I put on record an additional information regarding the same coins and certain other coins in my collection.

I also possess the coin dated 1794. The weight of this coin is about 187 grains and size (diameter) 31 m.m. According to its weight and size, I think that it is equivalent to 'Half Anna'.

Other coin in my collection bears the date 1791. The weight is about 41 grains and size 20 m m. This, I think is equivalent to ½ pice.

A coin dated 1821 in my possession has the following description : *Obv.* : Company's bale mark, embodying the initials *V.E.I.C.* and the date. *Rev.* : Scale and between the two pans it bears the Nāgarī legend *Ardha Paisa.* Weight about 58 grains and size 17 m.m. Please note that *Samvat* year is not shown on this coin.

Half Anna dated 1834. *Obv.* : The Arms and Supporters of the East India Company and the legend *East India Company. Rev.* : Scale, above—*Half Anna* ; below : *Adel* and Hejira year 1249 in Persian characters. (Note : I have two pieces of this coin. On the reverse, the legend *Half Anna* is written in bold type on one and in smaller type on the other). It appears that two different dies were used for the reverse.

One-half Pice. *Obv.* : Coat of Arms of the Company with date 1853. *Rev.* : A circle of laurel leaves surrounding the value ½ Pice and the legend *East India Company.*

One-twelfth Anna. Description as above, except the value 1/12 Anna and date 1848.

As regards coins dated 1830, 1832 and 1833, Shri Gattani has correctly described them, except that the dates 1930, 1932 and 1933 on page 257 should be amended to read 1830, 1832 and 1833 respectively.

A silver Rupee of 1835 in my possession bears the following description : *Obv.* : King's bust to right surrounded by the legend *William III King*. *Rev.* : Wreath enclosing the value *One Rupee.* Above, the legend *East India Company* and below, the date 1835. Half Anna, one quarter Anna and 1/12 Anna in my possession also bear the same date, viz. 1835, and it is assumed that they are all the multiples of the above rupee.

From the information given above it is evident that the scales were discontinued with effect from 1835.

If the above additional information is found suitable for publication, I will be grateful for your necessary action in due course.

Yours faithfully,
D. M. PHATAK,
623/33, Sadashiv, Deshmukh Wadi,
Poona—2.

2

March 2, 1964

Dear Sir,

....

Very keen collector of coins, I would be very happy to contact a numismatist of India to exchange documentation and coins.

My own collection contains more than 13,000 coins and I have a very big lot of duplications.

I put aside a pencil picture list of some coins I could send in a first parcel ; also my want list for British India—

Do you believe you could help me ? I try to get 2 of each kind of coins for face and reverse without regarding dates or mint-marks except if there are some particularities.

....

Yours faithfully,
GEORGES VAN HOOLAND
44 Rue Alice Bron
Moncean-sur-sambre
Hainaut
Belgique

[The pencil rubbings supplied by Georges Van Hooland are of Belgian coins. He is prepared to exchange coins for Indian, Afghan, Tibetan coins etc. His want list includes British Indian coins, coins of Native States and of Republic of India. Those interested are requested to write directly to him. —*Editor*]

3

Calcutta ; May 9, 1964

Dear Sir,

With reference to the request expressed in the note at page 263 of Part II of Vol. XXV of the *JNSI*, I am pleased to inform you that :

(1) I am specializing in the study and collection of Nepalese, Tibetan and Buthan coins, ancient and modern ; I have some duplicates of the same and would be ready to exchange them ;

(2) I have a fair number of Italian modern coins. I am ready to exchange them, but what I think is of more interest, I am at the disposal of anybody who wanted to have informations on the Italian modern coinage.

Yours faithfully,
CARLO VALDETTARO
16 A, St. George Terrace
Hastings, Calcutta—22

4

[Ing. E. Pávó, redactor numismat, Budapest-XI, Làgymányos 12, Hungary, has requested modern coins exchange partner corresponding in English, French, German and Hungarian. —*Editor*]

5

18 August 1964

Dear Sir,

Read with interest a recent article published in *World Coins* with reference to your Society.

I have recently started a collection of world coins myself and to date your country is not represented. I wonder if you might pass my letter on to some member of your Society or to some other collector interested in trading the coins of your country for the coins of my country.

I am not interested in any rare type or even valuable coins but rather prototypes of your current coinage and perhaps some of the not too distant past. In exchange I will send types of

our coinage or any specific items requested. For example the recent U.S. Kennedy half dollar has been extremely popular with collectors in other countries as well as our silver dollars of recent years. Basis of trade would be whatever value your country puts on the coins in relation to the current US dollar value.

May I thank you in advance for any help you may see fit to render me, I remain,

Respectfully yours,
RAYMOND J. ISACSSON
70 Alcott Road
Rochester, New York
14626, U. S. A.

Coins of Mewar—In two parts, A. D. 562 to 1303 and 1303 to 1948. (Pp. 44, Royal Octavo, 5 Plates, 112 Coins illustrated). By Roshanlal Samar.

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By Roshanlal Samar.
Rs. 2/- Postage Extra.

A Thesis on the Origin of Guhilots—Hun ?
(to be published.)

Hun Mandal in Rajasthan. (to be published)

Coins of Parmars of Malwa (to be published.)

गुह और गुहिल—(शौध पत्रिका भाग १ अं० १ सं० २००४ वि०)

बापा रावल के दो सोने के सिक्के—(शौध पत्रिका भा० २ अं० १)

Coins of Sibi Janapada of Mijhimika (J.N.S.I.
Vol. IX Pt. II (1947)

Guhila Vaṁsa of Chatsu Inscription (in Press)

To be had from Roshanlal Samar, B.A. LL.B., Advocate
Udaipur (Rajasthan), India.

Addenda & Corrigenda

(*JNSI. Vol : XXV, Pt : II*)

"Countermarked Durrani and Sikh Coins" by C. H. Biddulph.

Page 198. Para 5. Read 'note' for 'hote.'

Page 199. Para 1. Insert 'the' before 'Durranis' in the first line.

" " Para 5. Read 'scanty' for 'scant' in the third line.

" " " " Insert 'be' between 'may' and 'offered' in the last sentence.

Page 201. Read 'anwala' for 'anwals'.

Page 203 Para 4. Read 'Timur Shah' for 'Timur Such'.

Page 205 Para 5. Second line, read 'any' for 'ony.'

" " Para 7. Fourth line, read 'at' for 'and' between Ranjit Singh and Sahiwal.

"Coins of the Talpur Mirs of Sind", by C. H. Biddulph.

Page 210. Para 5. Second line, insert the word 'his' between 'in' and 'Introduction'.

Page 218. In the details of coin No 13. Read '1088' for '1080.'

"The Marathas in Southern India and their Coinage," by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 221. Para 5. Read 'Arcot' for 'arcot' in the fifth line.

Page 225. Para 4. Read 'Nundy droog' for 'Mundy droog.

" " " " Read 'Major Gowdie' for 'Major Gowdi.'

Page 227. Para 4. In line four read 'never' for 'have'.

Page 232. In details for Coin No.21, Insert 'Mint : ?'.

"Shah Jahan and his Rupees of Ajmer Mint", by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 252. Para 1. In line six the part of the mint name should be read سیرابان ماه and not شهوابان ماه as in the text.

"Countermarked Coin of the Imam of Muscat and Oman", by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 259. Para 2. Read '1875' for '1857' appearing twice in the same paragraph.

JNSI, XXVI, Pt. I, p. 115—Read **'Kennedy'** for **'Kenndy'** in the title.

REVIEW

A Bibliography of Ceylon Coins and Currency : Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern—by H. A. I. Goonetileke ; Reprinted from *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July-December) 1963 ; pp. 187-242.

This *Bibliography* is a welcome addition to reference works on Ceylon coinage. Divided into six convenient parts, viz. General, Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon, Portuguese coins and currency, Dutch coins and currency, British coins and currency and Miscellaneous which includes mediaeval and modern coins, it also contains an Appendix on Indian coins and an Author Index at the end. Codrington's pioneer work, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, justifiably occupies a place of honour in the Bibliography. It has not only been 'dissected and subsumed under ... appropriate sections', but also served as a model for the disposal of the material and its classification.

Since the book is mainly compiled on the basis of the available material in Ceylon libraries, a few omissions can not be ruled out. The compiler himself does not claim it to be exhaustive and rather presents his work 'as a starting point for something better.' The section on Indian coins is particularly brief and sketchy, containing only 'a small selection of representative contributions on the subject'.

It is also necessary to point out some lapses in the scientific arrangement and notice of the material contained in the Bibliography. The classification is not clear-cut and precise and, at best, it can only be provisional as acknowledged by the compiler himself. It is particularly noticeable in the Appendix, which, devoted to Indian coins, also includes articles dealing with Ceylon coinage. Here the authors' names also are not arranged alphabetically. It may be appreciated that the compiler has tried to avoid repetitions as for as possible, but wherever an article or work was required to be referred again, it would have been more scientific to supply cross-references. Besides, the Bibliography also deviates from uniformity by supplying descriptive notes for some of the articles and works and mere notice in case of others.

Inspite, however, of the few shortcomings noted above, the *Bibliography* is undoubtedly a valuable reference work on Ceylon coinage and the compiler has to be congratulated for having prepared it on such limited resources.

—*A.K. NARAIN*

OBITUARIES

It is with profound regret that we have to record the death of three of the distinguished Presidents of the Society, that had occurred during some time past. They are J. M. Unvala, H. E. Stapleton and A.W. Botham.

1.

J. M. Unvala

J. M. Unvala was a distinguished educationist of the Parsi Community. He was so unassuming and quiet living person that little is known of his personal life. He was a keen scholar of Sassanian numismatics and was writing on the subject in Journals outside India for a quite long time. His contributions are rarely known in India. In 1943, when he joined the Numismatic Society of India, he introduced the subject in the *Journal* of the Society and contributed several articles. He was the President of the Society's Annual Meeting held at Delhi in 1948. He died at Bombay in the early part of 1962.

P. L. GUPTA

2.

H. E. Stapleton

H. E. Stapleton was in Indian Educational Service in Assam and had distinguished himself in the field of the Eastern Indian numismatics. He had joined the Numismatic Society of India in 1924 and was the President of the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1930, which was held at Patna. In his presidential address he had dealt with the coins of then little known two Hindu rulers of Bengal, Danujamardandeva and Mahendradeva. But his most important contribution is the paper on the Coinage of Assam (*JASB*, VI, 1910). His another interesting paper is on the Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese Coins, published in *NS*, XLVI (1935-36). His other important contributions are :

1. The Early Gold Coinage of the Delhi Emperors (*JASB*, VI, 1910).
2. A find of 182 Silver Coins of kings of the Husaini and Suri dynasties from Raipara (*NS*, XLII).

He died in January 1962 at Brelade, Jersey (England).

P. L. GUPTA

3.

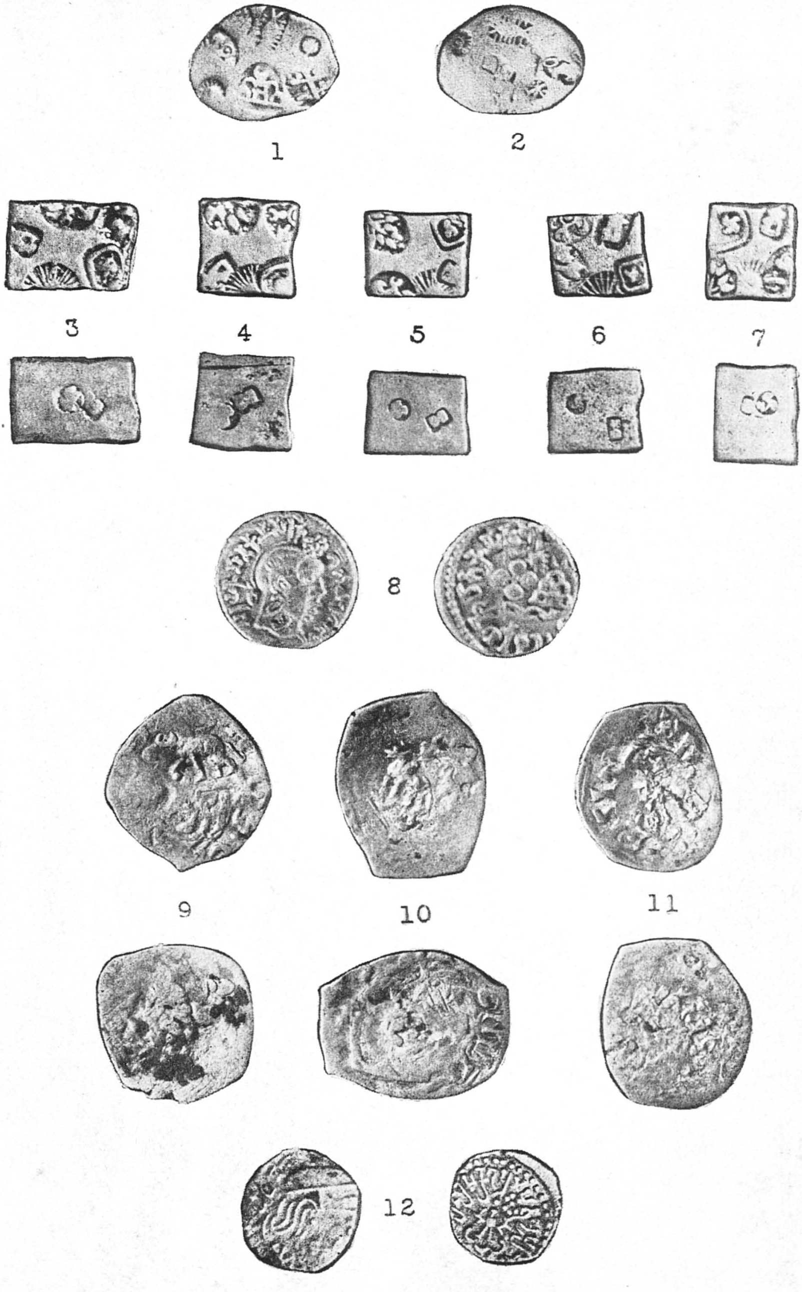
A. W. Botham

Arthur William Botham was one of those I.C.S. officers in India, who have rendered valuable service to Indian numismatics. He developed a rich collection of the coins of Eastern Bengal and Assam which he presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Though there is not much of gold, it is very strong in silver. He has given us detailed information about the coins of these series in the *Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet Assam* published in 1930 and his three papers published in the *Numismatic Supplement* : "Some Kachari Coins" (XX, 120); "Chronology of Jaintia Kings" (XXIX. 139) and "The Ahom Coins of A.D. 1648" (XXIX, 138). Botham was the Member of the Numismatic Society of India from its very inception and was the President of the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1927, which was held at Bombay. He was elected Honorary Member of the Society in. He died at Alford, Lincolnshire (England) on 25th August 1963 at the age of 89.

A.W. Botham was the son of Rev. George Willaim Botham, who was Rector Anderby, Alforfor many years of ; and was born in December 1874. He was educated first privately, then at Magdalene College, Cambridge and passed B. A. in 1896. In 1898 he entered the Indian Civil Service and spent his entire service in Assam. There rising from the usual cadre of I.C.S. officers, he became Commissioner of Excise in 1912, and next year the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. In 1919 he was appointed Chief Secretary to Assam Government and held that post till 1925, when he became the Member of the Executive Council of Assam. At the time of his retirement in 1931, he was the Finance Minister. He was awarded C.I.E. in 1918 and C.S.I. in 1926. After retirement he returned to England and settled at Alford. There he was for a time the Member of the Alford Urban District Council and Justice of Peace for Lincolnshire and sat at Alford Bench.

We offer our heartfelt condolences to the near and dear ones.

P. L. GUPTA



Rare Silver Punch-marked Coin (1-2); Punch-marked Coins from Nevari (3-7) ; A New Silver Coin of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (8) ; Silver-plated Gupta Coins from Sherdi (9-11) ; A Dated Silver Coin of Kumāragupta I (12)

Obverse

Reverse

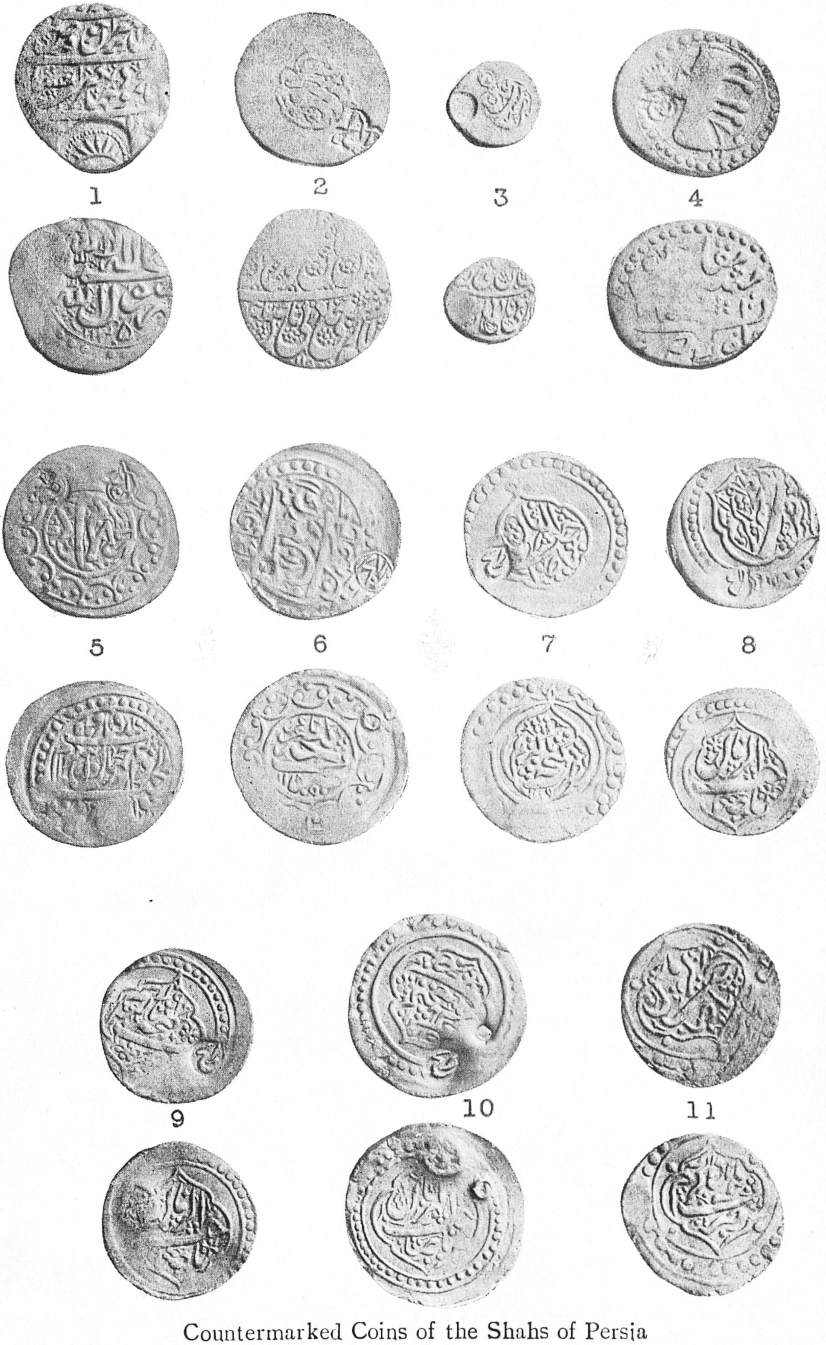
An Unidentified Coin of Bull and Horseman Type

Obverse

Reverse

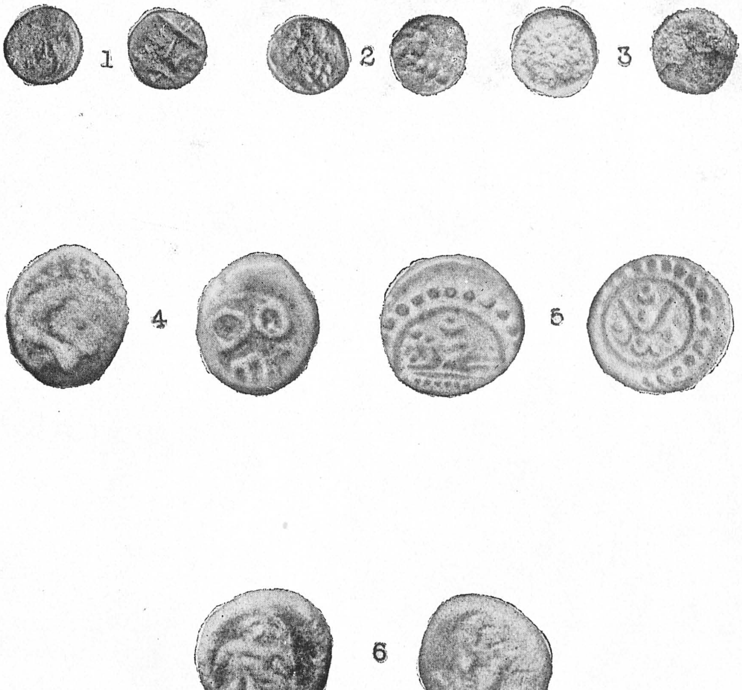
The Kennedy Half Dollar

Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia



Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia

Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia (1-4) ;
Countermarked Spanish Rial (5)



Coins of Agnimitra (1-3) ; Unique South Indian Copper Coins (4-6)

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ऋ ṛi ; ङ् ṅ ; च् ch, छ् chh, ञ् ñ, ण् ṇ, श् ś, ष् sh.

; ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; ḥ ح ; ch چ ; j ج ; th ث ; ṭ ٹ ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا
;a' ع ; .. ظ ; ṭ ط ; ẓ ض ; ṣ ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ; z ز ; ṛ ڑ ; r ر ; z ذ
.y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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